

The University of Chicago

LATIN AND GERMAN ENCOMIA
OF CITIES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1937

By
WILLIAM HAMMER

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The period of humanism, with which encomiastic literature is closely associated, has not yet been completely investigated. This neglect is partly owing to the notion that the products of those centuries are merely imitations. Furthermore, the fact that Germans wrote in classical literary forms has given rise to the impression that their work was alien to the purely national literature of Germany. Then, too, the bewildering volume, the wide diversity of interests, which is apparently a fundamental characteristic of humanistic literature, and the bibliographical difficulties which attend investigation, have discouraged students.

City poems, the particular genre of encomiastic literature which has been chosen for investigation here, are as old as the beginnings of Greek literature. The most ancient encomium, although not extant, was written by Xenophanes (ca. 579--after 480). In an epic poem of 2000 distichs he praised the founding of Elea (now Castellamare near Naples).¹ The great Greek tragedians glorified districts and cities. One of the most famous is the praise of Colonos by Sophocles in Oedipus Coloneus (vss. 668 ff.). The majestic funeral oration of Pericles which Thucydides (II, 35-46) has handed down to subsequent generations is one of the outstanding eulogies of Athens and its citizens. With the Panathenaikos of Isocrates (436-338) there begin in classical Greek literature forms of expression which were to be perfected in the following centuries. In the Alexandrian and Graeco-Roman periods, which were characterized by scholarly activity rather than by original creativeness, we frequently find topo-geographical descriptions containing encomiastic passages on places and

¹Cf. W. Windelband, Geschichte der abendländischen Philosophie im Altertum ("Müller's Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft," V, 1, 1, Munich, 1923), 32: "Im Alter liess er sich in Elea nieder, dessen Gründung durch flüchtige Phokäer im Jahre 537 er in 2000 Distichen besang." Cf. ibid. for further bibliography.

cities.¹ The first century B.C. and the Augustan and post-Augustan ages offer rich sources for the study of encomia, both in practice and in theory. Cicero, Vergil, and Ovid glorify both Rome and Italy. They are followed by Frontinus (De aquaeductis), Plutarch (on the Romans), and Silius Italicus (Punica, containing a description of the Alps and the mountainous regions of Italy). The city oration, one of the most characteristic genres in antiquity, is cultivated by Dio Cocceianus of Prusa (b. between 30-50, d. ca. 120) and, above all, by Aelius Aristides (117 or 129-189), who brought this type to a wholly formal perfection in his Panathenaios and the oration On Rome. On Aristides, himself an imitator, follow the city orators Himerius of Prusa (ca. 310-ca. 385) who praised Constantinople and the visiting emperor (a favorite and frequent combination of two encomiastic genres), and Libanius (4th cent. A.D.), who lauded the city of Antioch.

A well-arranged scheme for encomiastic genres was worked out in antiquity. The chief activity of theorists falls in the third century A.D. Since the encomium is epideictic and is closely related to oratory, it was first discussed in treatises on the art of speaking. In chapter 3 of his Ars rhetorica Anaximenes (4th cent. B.C.) had considered the kinds of writing and mentioned encomia without going into details. Aristotle (Ars rhetorica, I, 3) established specific rules for expressing praise. The meaning of "encomium" is explained repeatedly by Aristotle and later theorists. Cicero (b. 106 B.C.) and Quintilian (ca. 35-ca. 100) add no new aspects to the theory of commendations. The first who treats theoretically the composition of city encomia is the Greek Dionysius of Halicarnassus (he lived after 30 B.C. at Rome) in his Ars rhetorica, I, 3 ff. He outlined the rules about what should or should not be said in such encomia and set up a series of topics. This procedure was brought to highest systematization in Menander's fundamental work Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν (sc. λόγων, = on epideictic genres).² Menander derived his theory

¹Philo of Byzantium, 3d cent. B.C., De septem orbis spec-
taculis, e.g. miraculum II and V on the city of Babylon; Apollonius Rhodius, 3d cent. B.C., in his epic poem Argonautica; Polybius, 210 or 205-ca. 125, on Rome.

²Rhetores Graeci, ed. Chr. Walz, IX (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1834), 127-330. Rhetores Graeci, ed. L. Spengel (Leipzig, 1856), 331-446.

from such texts as Aristides's orations and gave with an astonishing minuteness the rules for the praise of cities, their parts, their vicinity, the landscape, etc., with constant emphasis on the mutual relations of these various elements. Greek, Roman and Byzantine writers followed Menander and even the great Italian theorist of the sixteenth century, Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558),¹ founded his work largely on Menander's theories. After Menander, city encomia were frequently composed from handbooks, a fact which accounts for their deplorable uniformity.

Rome gradually lost its first place in laudations, due to the increasing importance of its colonies. Ausonius (ca. 310-395) is the first panegyrist of a city on German soil (Trier, in his Ordo urbium nobilium, much less in the Mosella); besides he was the eulogist of numerous other cities, some of them belonging to the old historical world, most of them to France and Spain. After Rome had been commended again by Claudianus (ca. 370-404), ancient city poetry reaches its climax in Rutilius Cl. Namatianus' praise of Rome (in his epic poem De reditu suo, written in 416). There follow some centuries of decline during which the complaint about the downfall of Rome and the call for the glorious old past echo in various ways. Panegyrists of the Middle Ages cultivate again the old theme of praise in honor of the foundation of a place. A variety of city poem developed in the form of hymns. The North Italian cities predominated as objects of praise. The entire mediaeval period expanded in an active writing of chronicles and laudations. The self-consciousness of the Italian cities gradually passed over into a national re-awakening. The time of the Renaissance was approaching.

For Dante Rome was a sublime idea. In the Divina Comedia he interpreted the progress of that great city through all the stages of its development, from its early history to the final union of its temporal and celestial destiny. Thus he arrived at the metaphysical concept of a purely transcendental city. With Petrarch began a new era in city literature. The glory of the city was revived in the praise of its ruins, and this became for a time the characteristic motive in encomia. The rise and the increasing wealth of the North Italian cities stimulated the writ-

¹Poetices libri septem (first ed. Lyons, 1561), Book III, chap. 121: "urbs" (in the section "Laudationes").

ing of eulogies, epigrams, and treatises. Ancient spirit and reminiscences show through, sometimes less, sometimes more conspicuously. Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369-1444) chose to model his Laudatio Florentini urbis on the Panathenaikos of Aristides. In the writings of Antonio Sabellico (ca. 1436-1506) and Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), Venice reached a climax in the sphere of panegyrics.

French humanism holds an isolated position as far as city laudations are concerned. The eulogists which are known¹ (the most notable among the panegyrists is the Italian-born Antonio Astesano) are not only ecclesiastical but also decidedly dialectic and scholastic in nature. These characteristics reflect the weakness of the revival of the ancient spirit in France. France was not even successful in the spread of classical Latin and its use as the language of learned circles. The political decline of France through the Anglo-French War of Succession (1339-1453) destroyed every interest in the study of antiquity. A slow rise began with the end of the fifteenth century after the old works had increasingly become accessible to learned people. As far as can be judged, there is no direct French influence on the encomia written by the German humanists.²

Three chief categories appear when one looks back on the development of the encomiastic city literature: the epic, the prosaic, and the poetic. As to the first, the term epic-poetic would be preferable, since there are some doubts about the existence of a purely epic city poem apart from Xenophanes' lost work. The epic category includes encomiastic passages or verses in an epic or epic-like work (Vergil, Claudianus, Rutilius Namatianus, Dante). Examples of the prosaic category are the classical and post-classical laudatory orations or the letters of the Italian Renaissance. The purely poetic category, apart from city epigrams, is rare in classical antiquity.

¹Printed in A. Le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand, Histoire générale de Paris. Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles, Paris, 1867.

²Encomia from Antiquity to the Renaissance will be published in the near future.

From a formal view point the best example of an independent encomiastic poem in classical times is Catullus' praise of the peninsula of Sirmio, but the subject matter refers to a region, not a city. Hence, we shall have to put the Ordo urbium nobilium by Ausonius at the beginning of our history, and this with some limitations. Its poetic quality (in the modern concept) is open to discussion. With the development of hymns in the eighth and ninth centuries the city poem comes more to the fore. Yet not until the Italian Renaissance does it appear fully developed as an epigram (Sannazaro) or a poem. In Italy, however, the genre never enjoyed great popularity. Its cultivation was largely left to German humanists.

The study of antiquity (which in early humanism meant Latinity) brought to the humanists new literary genres and forms and also very frequently new ideas. The literature of the non-Italian humanists is professional, written by learned men and destined more or less exclusively for their colleagues. The political and cultural development in German cities does not vary much from that in Italy, so far as the increasing demands for city rights and independence are concerned. The newly awakened interest in a hitherto dormant tradition and the comparison with the proud past of Italy and, above all, the discovery of the Germania (the first, incomplete text was printed in 1469), stimulated Germans in the study of local history.

At first sight, the study of city encomia in German humanism looks somewhat discouraging. The overabundant material seems to lack any system such as is noticeable in antiquity and in the sphere of Romance influence. Furthermore, our knowledge is incomplete, since many encomiastic writings are unknown to us. Still another obstacle for the one outside of Germany who investigates these humanistic eulogies is the inaccessibility of primary and secondary material. Essays dealing with encomia are often printed in minor regional periodicals or in supplements to local newspapers; these are difficult to see even in Germany or Bohemia. The large number of minor encomia justifies our not treating or even mentioning them all in this chapter. The various bibliographical appendixes survey the times of writing and the authors of all encomia which I have found. Furthermore, the bibliography of discussions of encomia will, without claiming completeness, furnish a good idea of this branch of literature down to the end

of the seventeenth century.¹ This endeavor to collect and systematize these hitherto scattered documents about urban life and spirit may contribute to further investigation.²

A chronological treatment would be the ideal procedure in the study of city encomia from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The inaccessibility of many texts and the fact that we find no consistent development from a geographical point of view makes difficult such a chronological treatment. Yet the chronological treatment is not entirely out of the question for one city. We can fortunately center our investigations on Nürnberg. And this for various reasons. The union in Nürnberg of international trade with an early and steadily increasing urban culture found the most diversified echoes in literature which a city could receive both in Latin and in German, in verse and in prose.

The first suggestion of this poetic genre which was to become a characteristic mode of expression in German and Bohemian humanism appears in an anonymous German poem of 1424 celebrating the city of Nürnberg: Ein sag von der Edlen vnd wirdigen Stat Nurenberg.³ This poem of 163 verses deals not with the city as a whole, but rather with the so-called "Reichskleinodien" which had been transferred to Nürnberg in 1424. This event naturally stimulated some one to versify it.⁴ These verses contain some ele-

¹This bibliography will be published in Archer Taylor's forthcoming book on Problems in Literary History from 1400-1700.

²Valuable work in the field of city encomia has been done in brief form by Jos. Neff in his introduction to Helius Eobanus Hessus Noriberger Illustrata und andere Städtegedichte ("Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jhds.," ed. by Max Herrmann, XII), Berlin, 1896, and Georg Ellinger, "Städte- und Landschaftsgedichte," in: Merker-Stammler, Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, IV (Berlin, 1931), 89-90.

³In A. von Keller, Fastnachtsspiele aus dem 15. Jhd. (Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, vol. XXX [1853], pp. 1168-1171).

An earlier slight allusion to a city laudation can be noticed in Oswald v. Wolkenstein's (1367-1445) poem beginning "Ich rüm dich haidelberg," cf. J. Schatz, Die Gedichte Oswalds von Wolkenstein (2d ed.; Göttingen, 1904), p. 230, no. 99. This does not go farther than the initial words. The rest of the 26 verses celebrates in a vague way the young girls whom he met at Heidelberg. Lack of individual features is conspicuous everywhere.

⁴On the ascription to Rosenplüt see Victor Michels, "Studien über die ältesten deutschen Fastnachtsspiele," Quellen und

ments of praise which one later on finds in true encomia.¹ Since the subject of the "Sag" is primarily an historical event, the poem can rightly be termed a "historisches Spruchgedicht."² The author, however, is far from glorifying Nürnberg exclusively. He calls Cologne equal to Nürnberg, and likewise Bamberg and "Rom vnd Achh" (Aix-la-Chapelle).³ The conclusion in verse 115 is: "Ich preis Nürnberg ob Jn allen," but the following verses commend Rome again and then Bethlehem and Jerusalem (vss. 134 ff.) and arrive at the by no means superlative statement "O Nurnberg hab ymmer danck / Dein lob vnd Ere hat weyten clanck" (vss. 138 f.). Within the walls of the city he finds a high standard of "zucht vnd ere" (vss. 142 ff.), but he has no word of praise for the clergy. Yet the spirit of the "Sag" is religious. In the eyes of this anonymous author the fame of a city rests on its importance for Christianity and its possession of precious treasures or relics. The emphasis on the just mentioned factors is by no means new in city laudations. One finds them already in the poems on Milan and Verona of the eighth century and the encomia on the foundation of monasteries and churches in the following centuries.⁴

It is not until 1447 that the first true city encomium appears in Germany, namely that of Hans Rosenplüt on Nürnberg.⁵

Forschungen, LXXVII (1896), 123 ff.; J. Demme, Studien über Hans Rosenplüt (Diss. Münster, 1906), p. 15, includes "Die Sag von Nürnberg" among Rosenplüt's works.

¹Cf. e.g. the vague terms in vss. 61 ff.: "Die Stat ist sin morgenstern / Ob dem ganczen Remyschen Reich," or vss. 80 ff.: "Ich hab mir allso auserkoren / Das ich Jr lob wil fudern vnd preysen."

²Cf. Max Herrmann, Die Reception des Humanismus in Nürnberg (Berlin, 1898), p. 18.

³Cf. vss. 100 ff.

⁴His summary "Da lob ich Sy mit grossem preys / Wer das nit tat war nit weys" (vss. 156 f.), is conventional. It is similar in spirit to Rosenplüt's "Dor umb wer Nürnberg vbel redt / Der ist mein gauch vnd heist nicht weys" (vss. 344 f.), or Kuntz Hasz's (vss. 608 f., especially 610): "Er ist nit weis, der dich thut schelten."

⁵Ed. by Georg Wolfgang Karl Lochner, Der Spruch von Nürnberg, beschreibendes Gedicht des Hans Rosenplüt genannt Schnep-perer, Progr. Nürnberg, 1854 (396 verses). A facsimile of the first fourteen verses of the MS (Germ. Nat. Mus., Nürnberg) can be found in Otto Henne am Rhyn, Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes (2d ed.; Berlin, 1892), I, 443. The existence of this

This work has a system in its plan and a relatively clear description. Praise is not narrowly bounded by the city. The author has inspected every corner inside and outside the walls of his native city. One follows him to the charitable institutions, to the enclosing wall, the forests, quarries, the granary, and the fountain on the market, and sees him promenading along the Pegnitz and examining the sanctuaries. His encomium is even wider in its scope: learning has a dignified place in Nürnberg. From intellectual pursuits he turns to material activities; he studies the trade and rejoices in mentioning the seven countries with which commercial intercourse is maintained. It is no long step from trade to handicraft, particularly to that of the braziers, for which Nürnberg was famous. What follows shows some lack of arrangement. Konrad Paumann, the blind master at the organ (a representative of art rather than of the mechanical trades), the wine market, and perhaps also the five holy cities (vss. 297 ff.), which are intended to serve as apt comparisons to Nürnberg--all of these details should have been inserted earlier. A last tribute is the statement that the city on the Pegnitz, thanks to a prudent and far-sighted council, possesses the "most wisest" things (v. 358): law and order and a peaceful attitude of its citizens.

On the whole, Rosenplüt who avoids dry enumerations is interested in the descriptive and geographical details rather than the historical and cultural aspects of Nürnberg. He is a representative bourgeois who articulates the inner feelings of humble citizens in popular style and expressions.¹

Some have claimed to find humanistic influence in Rosenplüt's poem.² To be sure, there is no reason to deny Rosenplüt's acquaintance with the humanists in his city, in the center of

poem was announced by Keller (Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, XXX [1853], pp. 1185 and 1329, n. 13); cf. Albert Werminghoff, Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg (Freiburg i.Br., 1921), p. 75. Max Herrmann, op. cit., p. 17. Neff, op. cit., p. xxi.

¹Cf. Gustav Ehrismann, Gesch. d. dt. Lit. bis zum Ausgang d. Mittelalters, II, Schlussband (Munich, 1935), 491-494; Jos. Nadler, Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften³, I (Regensburg, 1929), 359.

²E.g. Max Herrmann, Die Reception, pp. 19 and 24 f.; J. Demme, op. cit., pp. 30 f. and 35. Neither of them gives evidence in support of his opinion.

whom stood Gregor Heimbürg,¹ but it left few traces in his verse. Rosenplüt had no thorough training in poetry; the use of some Latin words and classical names does not imply that he favored the new scholarly atmosphere. Like many humanists, Rosenplüt condemned the irreligious life of his day and the low moral standards of the clergy. He opposed the arrogant and base behavior of the lower nobility and considered a dictatorship to be incompatible with a bourgeois world. Such ideas did not originate primarily in humanism but were shared by all right thinking people of the age. That the new learning exerted no marked influence on Rosenplüt is best seen from the temper of his works. This will become clearer when one studies the purely humanistic city poems and sees the small share given to the daily life of the common citizen. Rosenplüt is a democrat with provincial rather than urban coloring. His subjects and his style appeal primarily to those in his walk of society. Unlike classical and humanistic writers, he disregards the usual introduction, the "captatio benevolentiae," addressed to the ruling fathers of the city. The form and meter make no attempt to follow the rules of classical antiquity and humanism.

Only a short time elapses before the appearance of the first humanistic prose laudation of a German city. The Ad laudem et commendacionem ciuitatis Bamberge oracio (or narracio), written by Albrecht von Eyb (1420-1475) belongs to the year 1452. It figures as the sixteenth narration in an appendix to his Margarita poetica.²

¹Herrmann, "Gregor Heimbürg und sein Kreis," in: Die Reception des Humanismus, pp. 5 ff.

²The Margarita poetica, finished in 1459 and published in 1472 (there were fifteen editions up to 1503), is the first comprehensive handbook of humanistic oratory in Germany. It is largely based on the Artis rhetorice precepta attributed to Aeneas Silvius. See Max Herrmann, Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus (Berlin, 1893), pp. 109 f. (the final passage of our laudatory oration is printed there) and pp. 175-214 (for a discussion of the Margarita poetica in general). For the description of the editions, cf. Herrmann, pp. 208-213. I have used the edition of 1475 (Hain 6819; Herrmann, Albrecht von Eyb, pp. 210 f.) in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

For general information see E. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jhd. v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance, II (Leipzig, 1898), chapters: "Der Stil der lateinischen Prosa im Mittelalter und im Humanismus" (pp. 748-72), "Die mittelalterliche und humanistische Tradition über den rhetorischen Ursprung des Reims" (pp. 871-908).

The German humanists considered it necessary to study at Italian universities. Their familiarity with classical culture is, therefore, a matter of course. Beside his other studies in the literary monuments of antiquity, Albrecht von Eyb devoted much time and interest to rhetoric, as appears from his Margarita poetica. His relatively short city oration on Bamberg follows the classical rhetorical rules. His familiarity with these rules is evident in his sermon on the Lord's Supper,¹ which begins with praise of the city and the inhabitants before whom it is delivered. Characteristic dependence on classical rules appears in the division of the Bamberg oration into two main parts (situation of the city and the inhabitants). The address to the governing powers of the city is quite in accord with classical practice. Rosenplüt's poem, as we have seen, is primarily interested in topographical aspects. Albrecht von Eyb's sincere commendation, elegant in form and limpid in language, does not limit itself only to these aspects; he gives us an insight into the atmosphere of his city and the spirit of the humanists regarding urban matters.

Eyb's praise of Bamberg is an oration. With the new study of classical culture a revival of rhetoric ran parallel. The cultivation of public speaking, apart from the sermons of the clergy and the mystics, had decreased during the Middle Ages. Homiletics could not use the patterns of pagan writers. That oratory, during the era of humanism and later, never enjoyed that favor which it once had in antiquity is chiefly due to the invention of printing which resulted in the predominance of the written over the spoken word.

With Michel Beheim (1416-1474) we advance in time, but only in time. The insecurity of this master singer compelled him to sing the praise of every one and everything, provided he earned his living thereby. The careless diction, the bad German, and the awkward meters are a good gauge of the restlessness of this author. Beheim is a matter-of-fact versifier to whom the term "poet" is hardly applicable.² There is no reference to classical

¹De divinissimo Eucharistie Sacramento laudatio (delivered in the cathedral of Bamberg), the first oration in the Margarita poetica. This oration (for it can hardly be termed a sermon in the usual sense) is a model showing how well-schooled humanists could amalgamate antiquity and ecclesiastical Christianity.

²Cf. G. Ehrismann, op. cit., II, 548. Unfortunately,

instances nor is there any connection with preceding city panegyrist. Notwithstanding his lavish use of praise, true encomia of places are rare in his writings. His Buch von den Wienern¹ as well as Von der statt Triest² are mere histories of wars in clumsy meters. The cities play no part as objects of praise. Only Heidelberg finds praise in his verses and that not in an independent poem.³ This is the first example of copying from a chronicle. Beheim's detailed information came from two Heidelberg chroniclers, the wandering scholar Peter Luder and Mathias Widman von Kemnat.⁴

For Beheim as for later generations, Heidelberg's situation in the beautiful valley of the Neckar is the chief reason for its fame. Beheim, in accord with popular thought, interprets the name of the city as "Heydenberg" (stanzas 5-8, = vss. 454-477). For him it is a seat of learning and its university a stronghold of scholasticism against the new humanistic currents. He commends the high quality of the clergy and the abundance of monasteries, the spirit of justice and law, both "bebstliches" and "kayserliches." The author speaks of the two hills, the two well-built and decorated castles, their fortifications against attack, their interiors, and particularly the hall of the knights. The excess of these topographical enumerations makes his composition, to speak with Goldschmit,⁵ a "versifizierten Fremden-

neither Phil. Witkop, Heidelberg und die deutsche Dichtung, Heidelberg, 1925, nor Rudolf Goldschmit, Heidelberg als Stoff und Motiv der deutschen Dichtung, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, deal adequately with Heidelberg in the 15th and 16th centuries.

¹Ed. by Th. G. von Karajan, Vienna, 1843; 2d ed. (unchanged), 1867. Cf. J. W. Nagl and J. Zeidler, Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte, I (Vienna, 1899), 302-304.

²Ed. by Heinr. Örtel, Schweinfurt, 1916.

³It is a part of a rimed chronicle written in 1469. The chronicle treats the time of the Count Palatine Friedrich I., and bears the title: Chronica und geschicht Pfalzgrave Fridrichs Churfürsten. The poem on Heidelberg begins with vs. 430 and contains 192 verses of very irregular meter. Edition by Karl Christ, Das erste Heidelberger Fass....Nebst einem Anhang: Des Meistersängers Michel Beheim Lob auf Heidelberg, Heidelberg, 1886.

⁴For the details see the annotations in Christ's edition.

⁵Op. cit., p. 3.

führer."¹ Although Beheim finally alludes to the castle as a place offering a view over the landscape, he, nevertheless, reveals his lack of artistic vision. There is no relationship between the city and its surroundings or between nature and the human works placed in it. In technical finish and form he falls far short of Helius Eobanus Hessus.

The entire fifteenth century in Germany cultivates all types of encomiastic literature. The year 1488 is noteworthy for the appearance of the first Latin city poem in Germany. This poem celebrates the city and the university of Leipzig. It was written by Konrad Wimpina (ca. 1460-1531),² the close friend of the other leader of the humanistic circle at Leipzig, Martin Polich of Mellerstadt (d. 1513). Wimpina later on became the first rector of the newly founded university of Frankfurt (Oder) and is known as a deadly foe of Luther.

In slavish imitation of Vergil and Ovid, Wimpina begins with the time of Caesar, the early history of the district of Leipzig, and gives some pertinent details about the situation of the city, its buildings and commerce and concludes the first part of his eulogy with a description of both the exterior and the interior of the churches. A second part which deals with the uni-

¹Like mediaeval writers, Beheim supports his statements by such affirmations as "das ist war und nit gelogen" (vs. 489), or "davon so ich mage / warlichen ticht und sage" (vss. 560 f.).

²Alme vniuersitatis Studii Lipzensis et vrbis Liptzg descriptio; new ed. by Chr. Friedr. Eberhard, Conradi Wimpinae Almae universitatis studii Lipsiensis et urbis Lipsiae descriptiones poeticae, Leipzig, 1802.

For the rise of humanism in Leipzig see Gustav Bauch, Gesch. des Leipziger Frühhumanismus (Beihefte zum Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen, XXII), Leipzig, 1899; Georg Witkowski, Gesch. d. literarischen Lebens in Leipzig (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 10 ff.; for Wimpina *ibid.*, pp. 18-20; cf. also Georg Ellinger, Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im 16. Jhd., I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), pp. 363 f.

Ellinger's excellent work, the first attempt to write a detailed history of Neo-Latin literature, has, unfortunately, not been completed; there have been published: Vol. I ("Italien und der deutsche Humanismus in der neulateinischen Lyrik," 1929), Vol. II ("Die neulat. Lyrik in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jhds.," 1929), Vol. III, pt. 1 ("Gesch. d. neulat. Lyrik in den Niederlanden," 1933); Vols. III, pt. 2 and IV (the last parts which are supposed to contain among other things the discussion of descriptive poetry, in particular landscape and city poems) are not likely to be published in the immediate future. Completion of this work will encourage further investigation in this little explored field.

versity is more narrative than the first and might have been an independent work. Wimpina, who himself had studied in Italy, inveighs against visiting Italian universities; he thinks this fashion of scholars weakens the position of Leipzig as a city and accounts for the comparatively low esteem for its university. On his praise of the curriculum and the faculties follows a report of the Hussite disturbances in Bohemia, the departure of professors and students from the university of Prague to Leipzig, the foundation of the university of Leipzig (1409), and the charter granted from Rome. An exhortation to the students to proceed in their work with a new spirit brings this glorification of the university to a close.

Konrad Wimpina provides a striking example of humanistic procedure. Ernst Beutler's investigations¹ have shown his slavish dependence on classical authors. He ties together Vergilian hexameters in the most mechanical and illogical manner. Yet his commendable effort to make the result apply exclusively to Leipzig distinguishes him from many ancient city panegyrists. Classical orations are so standardized in form and spirit that they could apply to almost any city. This same procedure culminating in a complete lack of characteristic detail appears again in the sixteenth century. The humanists not only cling to traditional ancient forms but also transfer even the spirit of these forms to poems about cities which they should have described from their own experience. So far as Latin poems in Germany are concerned, Wimpina stands at the beginning. Within the next fifty years the genre arrived at some degree of perfection in the handling of matter and form.

Wimpina's primary interest is the detailed account of recent historical events connected with the university. His praise of the university of Leipzig is not the only one. At the same time Priamus Capotius (d. 1517) of Lilybaeum in Sicily² delivered

¹"Centonen in Konrad Wimpinas Almae Universitatis studii Lipsensis et urbis Liptzg descriptio," in Neue Jahrbücher f.d. klass. Altertum, Geschichte und Pädagogik, XXIV (1909 = Neue Jahrbücher f. Pädagogik, XII), 363-397.

²Priami Capotii Lilybite, Oratio metrica in universitate Lipsensi habita (1488). A copy is in the library of the University of Chicago; cf. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, IV (Leipzig, 1934), cols. 122 f. L. Hain, Repert. Bibl., I (Stuttgart, 1826), No. 4384. G. Bauch, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

an oration in honor of the same university. After Celtis left Leipzig at the beginning of 1487, Capotius became his successor. The metrical oration,¹ a combination of a personal inaugural declamation and habilitation address, centers around the foundation of the university and is an expression of esteem for its successive noble protectors. One cannot make definite assertions as to whether Wimpina's or Capotius' poem was planned first. A possible mutual influence is difficult to trace out, since the subject is the same for both Wimpina and Capotius.

Albrecht von Eyb's praise of Bamberg, as we have seen, is an oration. Wimpina on the other hand provides a true city poem. Alongside these purely epideictic types one finds another in the period of humanism: local historiography similar in motive and spirit to treatments of Italian cities during the Renaissance. One can ignore the mere matter-of-fact histories or chronological surveys. But not all humanists wrote "sine ira et studio," so that their treatises were likely to result in a glorification of the city concerned.² They deserve at least some words within this chapter. Nürnberg, more than any other city, is the focus during the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. The first humanistic history was not, however, written about Nürnberg. In 1456, a monk, Sigismund Meisterlin, complied with the wishes of his superior Sigismund Gossembrot by writing a history on the founding of Augsburg. The result was the Chronographia Augustensium. Notwithstanding an inevitable adherence to popular and mythological tradition the author showed individuality and independence. He discarded, for instance, old mythological explanations and set up theories of his own. After his removal to Nürnberg, Meisterlin planned to glorify this city. It is interesting to see the development of his plans.³ He began with the Vita St.

¹It comprises 218 hexameters rich in classical allusions.

²For historiography among the humanists, see Paul Joachimssen, Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus ("Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance," ed. by Walter Goetz, VI), Leipzig, 1910.

³Paul Joachimsohn, Die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland, I: Die Anfänge, Sigismund Meisterlin, Bonn, 1895 (cited as Joachimsohn, Meisterlin); cf. Max Herrmann, Die Reception, pp. 64 ff.

Sebaldi (1483-84).¹ During the composition and revision of the Vita, the idea of writing a history of Nürnberg matured. The plan for his Chronica Neronpergensium,² therefore, dates back to ca. 1485. This was written in both Latin and German and finished in 1488. At first only three chapters were written in German. His intention of adding chapters on the administration, the foundation of churches, and the situation of the city was not carried out.³ Meisterlin follows the humanistic trends of the times. In his study of the sources Aeneas Silvius was his model. Meisterlin strongly disputes the old tradition of the non-German origin of the Nürnberg aristocracy. He, however, shows favor to the story of the Roman past of the city (Neronberga with Tiberius as its founder). Both the conventional classical prologue addressing the authorities of the city and the usual humanistic conception of history are adopted by the monk Meisterlin. His Nürnberg chronicle is not written "sub specie aeterni"; in his endeavor to show the gradual development leading logically and inevitably to the present city he stands on reality. This attitude appears in his interest in the prevailing interrelations so characteristic of the free imperial city. Joachimsohn⁴ gives an interpretation that is both correct and clear when he calls attention to Meisterlin's interest in these interrelations between the city and the empire, the citizens and the Burggraf, and the aristocratic circles and the guilds, and calls the underlying motive the "verfassungsgeschichtliche Element" (in the widest meaning of the word). Meisterlin's observations and interests appear again in

¹Printed in the appendix to Joachimsohn, Meisterlin, pp. 303-324. A later German adapter inserted into this a longer praise of the city; cf. Joachimsohn, p. 151.

²Joachimsohn traces the development leading to Meisterlin's Vetus Neronperga and a Neronperga moderna. Meisterlin's Chronica Neronpergensium is printed in Karl Hegel, Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, III, Leipzig, 1864; extracts also in Hans Rupprich, Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten (in: Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, section "Humanismus und Renaissance," Vol. II, Leipzig, 1935), pp. 110-16.

³Cf. the sketch Descriptio Norimbergae, modelled after Aeneas Silvius' description of Vienna, printed in Joachimsohn, Meisterlin, pp. 332 f.

⁴Meisterlin, p. 179.

later writers and panegyrists on Nürnberg. Werminghoff constantly emphasizes that influences of one writer on another can scarcely be traced in view of the fact that the authors treat one limited subject. Meisterlin's Chronica is not exclusively written for the historian; it is, as Joachimsen¹ says, the first political "Tendenzschrift" written by a humanist. A few years later, Conrad Celtis completed what Meisterlin had left undone.

Rosenplüt's poem on Nürnberg was published in 1447 and again toward the end of the fifteenth century, once at Bamberg, twice at Nürnberg.² The Nürnberg reprint of 1490 and the popularity of Rosenplüt's poem may have stimulated Kuntz Hasz (ca. 1450-1527) to write a similar encomium.³ He refers to the "Schneperer" (vs. 10) as having undertaken to praise the city. In Hasz's opinion, and this is a justification for his own encomium, Rosenplüt had failed to mention many important facts.⁴

Like Rosenplüt, Kuntz Hasz speaks for the bourgeoisie, but in a different spirit. Rosenplüt, as we have seen, placed the topo-geographical aspects of Nürnberg to the fore; Hasz sees deeper. His aim is to explain the fame and wealth of the free imperial city.⁵ Hasz naturally emphasizes the importance of trade and shows an interest in minute accounts of city life and detailed

¹Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung, p. 45.

²Albert Werminghoff, Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg (Freiburg i. Br., 1921), p. 75; Lochner's edition, pp. 16 ff.

³Eyn new gedicht der loblichen Stat Nürnberg von dem regiment, gebot vnd satzung eyns erbern weysen Rats. First edition 1490; re-edited by Karl August Barack in Zeitschr. f. dt. Kultur-gesch., III (1858), 383 ff., also separately under the title: Ein Lobgedicht auf Nürnberg aus dem Jahre 1490 von dem Meister-Sänger Kuntz Hasz, Nürnberg, 1858. The second edition of 1492 is printed in Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg, VII (1888), 180-82; only the additions, written in 1492, are given. On Kuntz Hasz, *ibid.*, pp. 169 ff. Barack had called attention to the existence of the second edition in his article "Zum Lobgedicht des Kuntz Hasz auf Nürnberg," Anzeiger f. d. Kunde d. dt. Vorzeit, N.F. XI (1864), cols. 95 f. Cf. Rud. Genée, Hans Sachs und seine Zeit (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1902), pp. 41 f., 474.

⁴The author gives the time of composition in vs. 688 ff.: "Merck, do man vierzehen hundert zelt / Nach cristi geburt vnd neunzig iar, / Als das gedicht vollendt war, / ..."

⁵This temper which, to some degree, can also be noticed in Wimpina, naturally leaves the widest scope for describing aspects and finding interpretations of them.

market regulations. The author patrols the city like a market policeman to whom the slightest disorder causes horror. He enjoys talking about the various kinds of goods which are brought to and sold in the city and the many decrees which Nürnberg has issued to guarantee the reputation of a commercial city, seeking a profitable, yet honest, municipal income, and supervising honest trade. One sees an instructive picture of urban civilization when reading about the severe laws against impositions, adulteration of wine, the selling of tainted fish, the farmers' frauds upon the citizens (vss. 482 ff.), and particularly the public nuisance of mendicancy (vss. 515 ff.). The special institution of the "pettelrichter" (v. 527) has, he notes, been created at Nürnberg. The motives underlying the laws and guiding the treatment of criminals,¹ to whom the benefit of clergy is granted, lead to the second factor contributing to the greatness and the wealth of the city. The author cites the piety and obedience of the citizens, the excellence and loyalty of the administration, and the laws which make secure a respectable life within the municipal boundaries. Criminals dare not practise their evil trade; other cities cannot compare with Nürnberg in the fight against such individuals. Every one exerts himself in doing his duty, especially the clergy. The blessing of the Lord, therefore, rests visibly upon the city and its leaders for whom the author finds words of highest praise.² The absence of class-conceit urges Hasz to speak of the laws against extravagance in dress and against other luxuries, such as are practised on the occasion of weddings and baptisms. The whole is summed up in a general eulogy and comparison of the justice and the courts at Nürnberg and other cities.³

¹Cf. Celtis' interest in the criminal law at Nürnberg (Norimberga, chap. 14). This interest, which many men showed about that time, is a consequence of contemporary legislative reform; for details and bibliography see Werminghoff, op. cit., p. 189, n. 1. Cf. Nürnberger Polizei ordnungen aus dem XIII. bis XV. Jhd., ed. by Joseph Baader, Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, LXIII, Stuttgart, 1861.

²The "erber weiser rat" and similar ones are stereotyped locutions in this poem; cf. vss. 10, 155, 213, 238, 287, 312, 391, 423, 428, 441, 615 ff., 679, 691, 735. There are other praising epithets besides these.

³Here the simple citizen expresses his contempt for Latin, which, he thinks, lawyers use to deceive people and court (vss. 600 ff., esp. 666 ff.). That Nürnberg officials passed ordinances against luxury is also related in Meisterlin's fragment Descriptio Norimbergae, printed in Joachimsohn, Meisterlin, p. 333.

The wisdom prevailing at Nürnberg is best represented by the councillors, among whom--and this is the pride of the rising bourgeoisie--there are now numbered craftsmen of the various guilds. The lengthy enumeration of the middle-class professions and of their representatives in the council is a detail of special interest to his fellow-citizens. His motive for listing them is not the humanistic endeavor to assure them of posthumous fame, but merely a desire to admonish people to support these men for excelling in the just management of city affairs. The subsequent remark, "Vnd doch die red nit mach zu lang" (vs. 733) leads to a last wish and prayer for the councillors.¹

The final part of Hasz's title, i.e. "von dem regiment, gebot vnd satzung," is significant for the future development of the genre. In the series of German city encomia there is now a new type. It is interpretative and is no longer purely descriptive or geographical.² Although Kuntz Hasz's New Gedicht will never occupy a high position as poetry, it will remain both a conspicuous and a notable stage in the development of the city poem.³

Meisterlin may have exerted some influence on Felix Fabri and his Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi, de eius origine, ordine, regimine, de civibus eius et statu.⁴ Frater Felix Fabri (1441 or

¹The last lines contain no rime with the author's name, but simply run thus: "Domit ist diesz gedicht vollendt. Kuntz hasz."

²Neff, op. cit., pp. xvi-xix, had already pointed out the two latter types.

³In the second edition (1842) of his Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, Gervinus does not mention Hasz; in the fourth (with the title Gesch. d. dt. Dichtung, II [1853], 174), he only alludes to him as "Konrad Hase von Nürnberg"; in the fifth edition (II [1871], 409), he says: "Halte man daneben (i.e. Rosenplüt's poem) aus einer ganzen Reihe poetischer Lobsprüche auf Nürnberg, die diesem folgten, gleich den nächsten von Kuntz Hasz (Konrad Hase), der den Rosenblüt'schen ergänzt durch eine statistische Darstellung der gewerblichen Thätigkeit und Gesetzgebung der Stadt, und man wird dann finden, welch ein Unterschied selbst in poetischer Beziehung zwischen einem freien Sittendichter und einem reimenden Beamten der städtischen Gewerbspolizei ist." Cf. also Nadler,⁵ op. cit., II, 360. Ein new lied von der Stat Rottenburg an der Tauber vnd von Vertreibung der Juden do selbst (Im Schuttensamen ton), written by Hasz in 1520 (in Liliencron, Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen, III [1867], 355-58, No. 346), is a tendentious song, not a city encomium.

⁴Ed. by Gustav Veesenmeyer, Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, vol. 186, Tübingen, 1889; for MSS and editions see ibid., pp.

1442-1502), a Swiss by birth, was a Dominican and after 1477 or '78 a teacher at Ulm. His interests are most diversified. He writes on popular subjects and anecdotes, indulges in exaggerated etymological digressions, and displays a more than humanistic mania for citing sources of all possible kinds.¹ He is, furthermore, a good humanist. His patriotism which clearly appears in his itinerary Evagatorium,² stimulated him to write a commendatory account of his adopted city, Ulm.

Fabri combines and confuses history and geography because he fails to verify his sources. He draws freely on the writings of Aeneas Silvius. The Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi, the first comprehensive description of a German city and its constitution, attracts attention by its very title. And the promise of the title is borne out by the strict arrangement of the treatise. Involuntarily one is reminded of classical rhetorical precepts. On the whole, Fabri follows them; he copied either a rhetorical handbook or the practice of earlier orations. Ancient orators generally began their speeches or written treatises by excusing themselves for the immensity of the subject and for the many previous treatments. Fabri does likewise, with the difference that his difficulty consists in the fact that no one before him had ever attacked so vast a subject. Although he makes the subject vast by his innumerable digressions, they are, however, rarely tiresome. In a final chapter he discusses at length the monasteries in the vicinity of Ulm. The whole treatise glorifies the

v-ix; for the plan of the treatise, pp. x f.; the 17th century MS described by Veesenmeyer on pp. viii f. (no. 12) is now in the University of Chicago Library. Cf. Georg Leidinger, "Eine bisher unbekannte Hs. von Felix Fabris Descriptio Theutoniae, Sueviae et civitatis Ulmensis," Neues Archiv der Ges. f. ältere dt. Geschichtskunde, XXIII (1898), 248-59.

¹Fabri's importance in the field of folklore has been shown by Erich Schmidt, Deutsche Volkskunde im Zeitalter des Humanismus (Historische Studien, Heft 47), Berlin, 1905. For Fabri and his place in humanistic history cf. Joachimsen, Geschichtsauffassung, pp. 45-50. Max Häussler, Felix Fabri aus Ulm und seine Stellung zum geistigen Leben seiner Zeit ("Beiträge zur Kulturgesch. d. Mittelalters," ed. by W. Goetz, XV, Leipzig, 1914), pp. 6-19, 33-41.

²Ed. by C. Dietr. Hassler, Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, Vols. II-IV (Stuttgart, 1843-49). The Evagatorium is full of both real and fabulous descriptions of cities which he saw on his way to Palestine.

city of Ulm, although the author does not indicate this purpose in the poem.

What Meisterlin had left incomplete was carried out by Conrad Celtis¹ (1459-1508). His interest concerns both the German past and present; for him both become one idea. The spirit in Celtis' writings breathes German patriotism, the form and language classical lucidity. As is well known, humanistic literature frequently approached nationalist propaganda.² In this spirit Celtis originated in the years 1491-95 the plan of writing a Germania Illustrata. According to Celtis' remark in the Norimberga,³ his praise of Germany must have been in circulation for some time. Nothing of it has, however, come down to us. In the early nineties he announces his aim to glorify his new residence, the city of Nürnberg.⁴ This plan was actually carried out and in 1495 Celtis presented his Norimberga to the council of the city.⁵ This highly rhetorical and well-planned prose work is no historical treatise, as the title might suggest.⁶ Celtis with the sharp and observing eyes of an unprejudiced visitor naturally notices many things which escape the inhabitants. This accounts for the varied

¹He gave his real name "Pickel" ("chisel") the Latin form "celtes," and, since the Roman poets had at least three names, he added to this the Greek equivalent (πρὸ) εὐκός ("pick-axe"): Conradus Celtis Protucius. On Celtis and intellectual life at Nürnberg see Bernhard Hartmann's excellent article, "Konrad Celtis in Nürnberg," Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg, VIII (1889), 1-68.

²Cf. Jac. Wimpfeling's attitude toward Strassburg (1501). For Strassburg in earlier encomiastic literature see Richard Gosche, "Die Lieder und Reime von Strassburg," Archiv f. Lit.-gesch., II (1892), 94-158.

³At the end of the first chapter; p. 105 in Werminghoff's edition.

⁴To this time belong the short ode Pro felicitate urbis Noricae (1492) and the carmen in sapphic meter Vita S. Sebaldi civitatis Noricae patroni (1493).

⁵Conradi Celtis Protucii Germani imperatoris manibus poetae laureati De origine, situ, moribus et institutis Norimbergae libellus, new and first critical edition by Albert Werminghoff in his Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg (Freiburg 1. Br., 1921), pp. 99-204; for MSS and editions, ibid., pp. 88-98.

⁶Such historical allusions as there are refer to remote times.

contents of the Norimberga. This city oration (its nature entitles us to term it so) carries out the promise of its title. It belongs to the domain of the cultural and narrative type.¹ The interpretation which Celtis brings to the ears of the councillors and the learned classes of society exceeds by far everything that had been described in the fifteenth century in Germany or was ever presented by the subsequent humanists, whether they wrote in Latin or German, or in prose or in verse. We must not, however, be indiscriminating. Werminghoff's masterly criticism makes further comment unnecessary. Let us make clear the lines which Celtis follows.

In a truly classical manner Celtis delivers his address "ad senatum" (Wimpina used the more contemporaneous title of "burgimagistri"). At the very beginning one link is added to another to form a chain of superlatives referring to both the councillors and the city. The assurances that the desires and encouragement of his friends had moved him to compose the Norimberga can be taken as humanistic "modesty."²

There is no reason to depreciate the love for Nürnberg which induced our patriotic humanist³ to erect a literary monument for the free city. Celtis utters no servile praise. His aristocratic attitude is evident in every passage. The form is finished and free from tiresome digressions. As a good humanist, he is

¹In some passages, to be sure, the topographical element is predominant; see, e.g., chap. 3. That the whole work was destined for humanistic circles can be seen from the fact that German expressions and even place names are explained in and by Latin words. Cf. also P. Joachimsen's remarks (Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung, p. 269, n. 9) against Neff's arguments (op. cit., pp. xxiii f.).

²It must be kept in mind that Celtis was entirely dissatisfied with the council which paid him so little for his panegyric. He claimed his manuscript with the intention of making additions and improvements, a procedure which was acceptable to the city fathers. Celtis' motives were, of course, a heightening of his praise of Nürnberg and the expectation of a higher reward. It is not until 1502 that the Norimberga appeared on the book market. For the epigram of four lines In Norimbergam, placed at the beginning of this work, see Karl Hartfelder, Fünf Bücher Epigramme von Conrad Celtes (Berlin, 1881), Bk. V, epigr. 80, p. 119.

³Celtis was the first German who received the honor and the title of the "poeta laureatus." This event of 1487 had been preceded by the nomination of Aeneas Silvius (later Pope Pius II) at Frankfurt on Main in 1442.

not primarily interested in investigating matters which deal with religious life or the state of the clergy. He shows a marked liking for the gods and other figures of antiquity.¹ What astonishes one more than this is his disregard of contemporary artists like Dürer, Krafft, Stoss, and Vischer. The fact that Helius Eobanus Hessus proceeds likewise in his poem Noriberger Illustrata (1532) cannot but heighten our astonishment. In this attitude they were in fact of one mind with the city fathers.² The conclusion in which Celtis addresses a sort of prayer to the gods³ is entirely pagan in spirit and might have been written in the period of enlightenment.

Celtis praised a Nürnberg at the climax of its wealth and fame. Werminghoff sought to discover⁴ how far our author based his work on his predecessors, including the German sources (Rosenplüt, Hasz, Georg Alt).⁵ While in Nürnberg, Celtis was closely associated with the city secretary, Georg Alt. This was the man whom the councillors asked to translate the Norimberga of 1495 into German. Alt's work as a translator of Hartmann Schedel's Liber Chronicarum (1493) had not been highly esteemed by the humanists. Serious doubts arose when the German translation of Celtis' Norimberga appeared. Celtis launched a biting epigram against the Nürnberg secretary of finance.⁶

¹For the classical elements in Celtis, cf. Guido Manacorda, "Celtis' Gedichte in ihren Beziehungen zum Klassizismus und italienischen Humanismus," Studien zur vergl. Lit.-gesch., V (1905), 161-71.

²Cf. Werminghoff, p. 59, n. 1.

³"... si quid ex voti nostri nuncupatione illi accidere potest," he adds in chap. 16.

⁴See his chapter "Vorbilder und Parallelen der Norimberga," op. cit., pp. 62-87.

⁵The great model of urban and regional description, Aeneas Silvius, was known to Celtis; as to Silvius' praise of Nürnberg, see Werminghoff, pp. 82 ff. and 83, n. 1, where the text is printed.

⁶K. Hartfelder, Fünf Bücher Epigramme...., Bk. III, no. 45 (pp. 58 f); also in Werminghoff, p. 33. On the whole subject cf. Werminghoff, pp. 31-36; the first chapter of Alt's translation of the Norimberga is printed, ibid., pp. 205-208.

In 1492, Alt wrote a Descriptio Nurmbergae based in part (chiefly in the initial historical section) on Meisterlin. Accord-

At the time when Wimpfeling was disseminating nationalistic propaganda and when humanism was about to gain a firm footing, the praise of a German city sounds from the mouth of a French humanist, Robertus Gaguinus (born between 1430-40, d. 1501). The personality of this professor and dean of the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne, who was also head of the Trinitarian order, is much disputed according to whether the point of view be German or French.¹ Gaguinus was not merely a scholar. He was in favor with the French kings Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII. He acted as ambassador to Germany, Italy, and England. He carried out a diplomatic mission to Germany in 1477; in 1492 he resided at the court of Heidelberg. He wrote two encomia relating to Heidelberg, the Elegiacum in laudes civitatis Heydelbergensis et pientissimi principis Philippi r.c. (44 vss.) and the panegyric on the German genius before the students of Heidelberg university, Scholasticis Heidelbergensis studii ...² (22 vss.). Our first impression of the Elegiacum is the individuality with which Heidelberg is treated, in spite of some generalities about nature and the surroundings. Apart from his disapproval of Germany's martial training, he is attracted by the German creative genius in arts and inventions and especially the art of printing. Germany deserves more extensive praise than he, a foreigner, knows how to compose. But he is happy in the idea that he must love a country which he has learned to understand.³

ing to Werminghoff, p. 70, it was probably written for Schedel. The final signature is "Ge. Alt scriba 1492." A small German edition of 1492 resembles Schedel's work but avoids the topics of constitution and government. No version of the Descriptio has been published. See further P. Joachimsohn, Meisterlin, pp. 250-253. For Ulrich von Hutten on Nürnberg (ca. 1518), cf. Werminghoff, p. 16; for Christoph Scheurl's eulogy Libellus de laudibus Germaniae (1506), see Werminghoff, p. 18, n. 2. Scheurl's letter on Nürnberg (1506) is printed in Werminghoff, op. cit., pp. 214-227. See also Max Herrmann, Die Reception, pp. 99-113.

¹See Joseph Knepper, Nationaler Gedanke und Kaiseridee bei den elsässischen Humanisten ("Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes," ed. by Ludw. Pastor, I, pts. 2-3, Freiburg i. Br., 1898), pp. 26-29.

²Karl Gaquoin, Denkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Robertus Gaguinus nebst seinen Elegien zum Lobe Heidelbergs und des deutschen Geistes, Heidelberg, 1901. (Latin text and German translation on opposite pages.)

³His final admonition (in prose) to the students reads thus: *Valete foeliciter et litterarum studiis diligenter incum-*

Many humanists led a migratory life and taught in numerous cities. Their ambition to establish or consolidate their reputations and their desire to court the favor of a municipal administration induced them to use all possible means of flattery likely to serve these ends. It is not astonishing, therefore, to see them active in the domain of the city eulogy. Writing as a rule in Latin, these humanists, thanks to their traditional technique, produced something that referred to this or that city only by name, but was imbued with such an archaic spirit that their poetical products might just as well have belonged to Late Roman literature.

A typical wandering scholar who wrote encomia on cities is Hermann Buschius (van dem Busche) with the cognomen Pasiphilus (1468-1534). He studied and taught at Münster, Deventer (the place of the famous humanistic school founded in 1475 by Hegius), and Heidelberg (under Rud. Agricola); visited Italy and Paris, was active at Cologne, Greifswald, Leipzig, and elsewhere; became in 1502 one of the first instructors in the new university of Wittenberg, went to Holland and England in 1516, betook himself after that again to Cologne, and after this we find him (from 1526 on) at the University of Marburg. Such aimless wandering is characteristic of the man and the author Buschius. He praises cities, to speak with Böcking, "quasi cicada per ambusta canens."¹

An earnest champion of the humaniora, Buschius was praised almost unanimously as a classicist by contemporary learned circles. The references and quotations of the humanists cited by Hamelmann² are instructive. The hexameters which Buschius writes bite, quae vos reddant illustres atque beatos; 1492 in Idus Februarii.

Celtis (ode to Johannes Vigilius, probably 1501-02, printed with German translation in Phil. Witkop, op. cit., pp. 8-10), praises Heidelberg as a place with pleasant reminiscences of his university years.

Peter A. von Clapsis lauds Heidelberg and its university in his Oratio in laudem civitatis et universitatis Heidelbergensis (1504). Clapsis has not yet been made a subject of extensive study; cf. J. J. Merlo, "Peter von Clapsis, ein Kölner Gelehrter und Kunstfreund des 16. Jhds.," Annalen der hist. Ver. f. d. Niederrhein, XVIII (1867), 1-24.

¹Eduard Böcking, Hutteni Opera, Supplementum II, 2 (Leipzig, 1870), p. 330 (art. Buschius, pp. 330-33).

²Hermann Hamelmann (1525-1595), De vita, studiis, itineribus, scriptis et laboribus Hermanni Buschii ... narratio (Lemgoviae, 1570), in Hamelmann's Opera genealogico-historica, collected by

display a fluent correctness; his technical ability reflects a careful study of the ancient poets, and his detailed knowledge of ancient mythology a close familiarity with Greek and Latin literature. Another factor which accounts for his great reputation must be seen in his rhetorical élan and fortunate choice of words. In brief, literary form and aesthetic color rank higher than content with Buschius.

The first of his city encomia is that on Roermond (Holland), probably written around 1500.¹ It is somewhat surprising that Buschius did not include this "carmen" in his collection. Murmellius, who himself wrote a Præconium Ruremundae patriae (ca. 1507),² published the "carmen" against Buschius' will. Murmellius considered himself justified in doing so. His local patriotism encouraged him to let the world know about the rare honor which a famous humanist had shown to his native city.

An encomium on Leipzig (1504) and, above all, one on Cologne (1508) established Buschius' reputation. Leipzig had already had its panegyrist in Wimpina, who in spite of the Latin form strove for some individuality. The Lipsica³ of Buschius is quite different from the panegyric of Wimpina. The very prose introduction, "Consulibus senatuique Lipsensi," with its many references to liberality of magistrates in classical times, makes clear the author's chief aim. The 435 verses devoted to Leipzig are no more and no less than a revival of ancient mythology. For everything in and around Leipzig Buschius finds a parallel; the over-emphasis goes so far that not even that part of the comparison Ernst Cas. Wasserbach (Lemgo, 1711), pp. 280-321. Relatively little is said about his works.

¹The Carmen sapphicum in urbem Ruremundensem was published by Johannes Murmellius in 1504; this original edition has not yet been found. In the next edition (Cologne, 1505) it appears in the works of Murmellius; for the full title and other details of the bibliography in Dietrich Reichling, Johannes Murmellius. Sein Leben und seine Werke (Freiburg i. Br., 1880), pp. 139 f. Most of the works of Buschius and Murmellius are rare.

²In his Elegiarum moralium libri quatuor, bk. II, 15; original of 1507 not known; first known edition of 1508 (probably at Cologne; only a few copies are extant).

³In Neff, op. cit., pp. 76-91; cf. also ibid., pp. xxviii-xxxi; for the few editions, ibid., pp. xxxii f. Hamelmann (op. cit., p. 310) mentions only these two: "Scripsit & carmen de urbe Coloniensi, cui titulum fecit, Floram. Descripsit quoque urbem Lipsiam publico carmine."

son purporting to deal with Leipzig mentions features exclusively proper to the city. Hardly any citizen will recognize his native city in this poem.¹ In matters of technique and style, but not in content, Buschius is superior to Wimpina. The latter, at least, cites historical events which are closely connected with Leipzig and interesting to every intelligent citizen. Except for the name Leipzig, the encomium of Buschius might be attributed to any time and any city.²

More widely known and more highly esteemed was Buschius' encomium on Cologne (1508). This city and its university (founded in 1389, three years later than the university of Heidelberg) gradually became the learned center of northwestern Germany and Europe. It remained the stronghold of a bellicose and intolerant scholasticism longer than Heidelberg. Humanism had to wage a long and pertinacious struggle before it gained footing there. Among the pioneers were Jacob and Andreas Canter of Groningen, who tried to reform the instruction in Latin. The study of Greek was not cultivated until 1510 when Johannes Caesarius of Jülich (ca. 1468-1550) gave courses in that language and its literature. During the period of humanism, Cologne, as a well-known publishing center, engaged actively in publishing both classical authors and the works and pamphlets of the humanists.

Buschius is closely associated with the university and the city of Cologne. Here he was enrolled on October 8, 1495. His propaganda for the revival of classical culture brought about a conflict with the scholastic groups and ended in his leaving Cologne about 1500. In 1507, he returned and resumed his courses. He remained there until going to Wesel (1516-18), only to be called back in 1518, the year of the publication of his humanistic work Vallum humanitatis in eight books. This was a comprehensive apology for the study of the ancients and a recommendation of

¹Cf. on this also L. Geiger, Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland, p. 472.

²Shortly after this Hieronimus Emser composed a Hodoeporicon (travel poem) in which he praised Buschius and exhorted Leipzig to be grateful to the panegyrist for immortalizing it in literature. The poem is printed in Neff, op. cit., p. 75. For the frequently encomiastic genre of the hodoeporicon, cultivated both by antiquity and by humanism, cf. G. Ellinger, Deutsche Lyriker des 16. Jhds. ("Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. u. XVI. Jhds.," VII, Berlin, 1893), pp. xxiii ff.

poetry and oratory as suitable subjects for the young students. During the first years of the Reformation, in which he took an active part, he wandered through Germany; in 1526, he was appointed the first professor of history and poetry in the University of Marburg.

The eulogy entitled Flora, which Buschius, on the occasion of the May celebration in 1508, delivered at the university before a large audience, was considered a notable event in the annals of the city and the University of Cologne.¹ Indirectly it expresses gratitude to the fathers of the city. A request to the Muse to hand over the lyre to him serves as an introduction. A series of reminiscences from antiquity and the assertion that the Latin language was used to praise Latium, the soil of the Roman settlers, lead up to the commemoration of Cologne ("facies urbis") and of the pursuits and talents of the inhabitants. He reviews these topics, again inserting many classical references, and chooses some points characteristic of Cologne and chiefly of its citizens. The virtues of the inhabitants of Cologne are evidenced, he thinks, by the numerous "grandia templa" (vs. 96), which further serve to make Cologne a Mecca for pilgrims. As an additional feature, he cites the many relics and saints, such as the three Magi, S. Ursula and her companions, and S. Gereon, the Christian propagandist at Cologne. But the poet lacks time to enumerate all the treasures within the walls of the city.

Proceeding to the praise of the inhabitants (vss. 124 ff.), he begins at once with a list of good qualities,² among which

¹Hermanni Buschii Pasiphili, Flora. On the title page: Flora vocor: vermis hospes mea tempora sertis / cinge, nec has dura negligite fronte preces / Si tibi nō videor, Satis hec ego dona mereri / Illi quā celeberrimo, nō dabis iste mihi; at the end: Finis Anno M.D.VIIJ. (6 fols., 40). Very rare! Cf. Goedecke² I, 421. In 1550 Flora was published again at Cologne and in 1554 by Henricus Glareanus. New edition in Hans Rupprich, Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 140-49.

There is an earlier praise of Cologne at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries: Laudes Coloniae, ed. in J. Fr. Böhmer, Fontes rerum Germanicarum, IV (Stuttgart, 1898), 463-70. Cf. A. Potthast, Bibliotheca historica medii aevi, I (2d ed.; Berlin, 1896), 712; Ottokar Lorenz, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des 13. Jhds., II (3d ed.; Berlin, 1887), 67 f. According to him it belongs to the beginning of the 15th century.

²Vss. 127 ff. Sobrius, assiduus, vigil, ingeniosus, acutus, Providus, humanus, sollers, patiensque laboris,

industry and the lack of prodigality are the most conspicuous. The citizen spends no time in idleness but uses his leisure hours on festival days for contests and sport. This leads Buschius to speak of the training in arms and the defense of the city in times of trouble. Moderation and abstention from excesses, continues Buschius (vss. 194 ff.), add to the reputation of the "gens prudentissima." Such people know how to appreciate the various branches of learning. He praises the young students who have chosen Cologne as a residence¹ and who, to extend their intellectual horizon, visit the better-known European universities.

Then Buschius comes to the last topic: praise of the councillors and their administration (vss. 267 ff.). With a rhetorical modesty befitting the humanist, he considers his poetical ability hardly adequate to sing their praise. This passage is characterized by a long enumeration of historical data derived from antiquity. Buschius closes with a comparison between the epic poet who, like Homer, can prolong his treatment and the orator who deems it appropriate to lay down his cithara at this point.

One can well imagine the effect which this panegyric, delivered by a man admired by his contemporaries for his style and euphony,² produced in the attentive audience. What are the reasons for this enthusiasm? Apart from its technical merits the essence of this encomium differs widely from the Lipsica. The content of the Flora reveals marked individuality. Here are no

Desidiaequae fugax et inertis strenuus oci
Contemptor, ...

¹Vss. 222 ff.:

O vos foelices et blando sidere natos
Indigenae pueri, quibus omnia sacra Minervae,
Omneque doctrinae genus intra moenia vestrae
Semper adest patriae, ...

²Cf. e.g. Hamelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 287: "Magna enim fuit in eo vis dicendi, magnae Latinae linguae cognitio, elegantia pronuntiandi & eximia promptitudo, ut animi cogitata eleganter & sonore proferret." Cf. also Gustav Türk, "Lateinische Gedichte zum Lobe Breslaus," Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Gesch. und Altertum Schlesiens, XXXVI (1901), 101, on Buschius: "Wohl keines dieser Gedichte ist mit solcher Feierlichkeit einer andächtig lauschenden Menge vergetragen worden, wie die 'Flora' Hermanns van dem Busche, die er am 1. Mai 1508 in Köln zum Lobe der Stadt in jonischer Melodie sang, wovon Glareanus in seinem Dodekachordon (1547) bewundernd berichtet."

longer fluent hexameters which might with equal aptness refer to any city whatever. Notwithstanding the many classical references, the audience recognized in this poem the city in which they lived. In the Flora Buschius discards topographical descriptions and rises to a higher sphere. Judging from all these aspects the encomium must be classified as narrative-interpretative.¹

Buschius, one feels, deserves more detailed attention. He represents a culmination of German humanism and combines in himself its deficiencies and merits. He is not merely the eulogist of various cities, but the writer of the two chief types of city encomium.

Buschius, as we have seen, wrote a poem on Roermond which his former fellow-student Johannes Murmellius (1480-1517) had published for patriotic reasons. Murmellius, to whom we now turn, belongs to the humanists of Münster. He, too, had written a Praeconium Ruremundae patriae.² In the introduction to the Praeconium he expresses his opinion of encomiastic city poetry:

Vatibus hic mos est, ut patria moenia dicant

Et natale velint nobilitare solum.

The "nobilitare," however, turns into a hyperbolic eulogy when the author extolls the military efficiency of this little town and cites similar instances of note from antiquity.

Just as Murmellius had praised his native town, Roermond, so he also eulogized the place of his residence and activity, Münster in Westphalia. This Carmen in urbem Monasteriensem was published in 1503 as an appendix to his Antonii Mancinelli versio-logus.³ The carmen which consists of fifty stanzas, owes its origin to peculiar circumstances. He composed it after six lessons

¹Apart from this Buschius composed a little known encomium on Emmerich, a small city in the lower Rhine valley near the Dutch frontier: Carmen scholasticum in laudem urbis Embricae, Daventriae (= Deventer), 1515. I am unable to say whether the collection Carminum, partim in Italiae urbibus, partim in patria contextorum libri duo (s.l.e.a.), probably ca. 1490, according to Goedecke², I, 421, contains city poems.

²In his collection Elegiarum moralium libri quatuor, book II, eleg. 15. Cf. Dietrich Reichling, Johannes Murmellius. Sein Leben und seine Werke (Freiburg i. Br., 1880), pp. 68 and 143. L. Geiger, Renaissance und Humanismus, p. 471.

³Reichling, op. cit., pp. 49-53; for the full title and editions, cf. ibid., pp. 133 f.

in a contest with Georg Sibutus.¹ The quality of this work (which is among his earliest) and the occasion which accompanied its writing are in the nature of things not very promising. The encomium is purely descriptive; a considerable part of it deals with his numerous humanistic friends and teachers.²

There had been comparatively intense activity in the glorification of cities during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Few of these panegyrics are likely to add any valuable information to this subject. Johannes Cochlaeus³ (1479-1552) wrote a description of Nürnberg. It is, on the whole, a copy of Celtis' Norimberga, with some additions. He inserted it into his edition of the Chorographia of Pomponius Mela.⁴ Johannes Boemus Aubanus (Böhm of Aub near Würzburg, born between 1480 and '90, d. 1553), one of the first humanistic students of folklore, in a sapphic ode Ulmae descriptio (Augsburg, 1515), lauded among other

¹Fol. 18^v of the edition of 1503 (1507 is a mistake) informs us about this: "... quum certamen cum Georgio Sibuto inijsset quamvis sex horas scholasticis officiis impenderet / intra vnus lucis spacium quarto Nonas Julij effu/ sa. M.CCCC. IIJ." (= July 4, 1503). Cf. Reichling, op. cit., p. 133.

²Georg Daripinus Sibutus wrote an encomium on Wittenberg in 1506 (according to E. Böcking, Hutteni Opera, Supplementum II, 2 [Leipzig, 1870], pp. 469 ff.; according to L. Hain, Repert. Bibliogr., No. 14716, in 1508). This work, Siluula in Albiorim illustratam (Impressum Lipcz per Baccalaureum Martinum lantzberg Herbpopolitanum, [1506], 28 fols., 40), is very rare. For the contents see Böcking, Hutteni Opera, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1859), section "Epistolae et documenta," p. 14.

To the same time belongs a eulogy on Wittenberg by A. Meinhard: Dialogus illustrate ac augustissime urbis Albiorene vulgo Vittenberg dicte situm amenitatem ac illustrationem dicens tirocinia nobilium artium jacentibus editus, Lipsiae, 1508. Cf. L. Geiger, Ren. u. Human., p. 578, and his judgment on p. 472: "culturgeschichtlich wichtiger Dialog über Wittenberg." I have been unable to discover whether there are any interrelations between this and Sibutus' work. In any case the use of a dialogue for a city encomium is very rare. I have found none in antiquity. One finds a dialogue in Petrarch's De remediis utriusque fortunae, but this deals primarily with ruins and not with a city proper.

³He was the most severe opponent of Luther next to Eck. His real name was Dobnek or Dobeneck; he chose the name Cochlaeus from his birth place Wendelstein near Nürnberg. From 1510-1515 he figured as the head of the Nürnberg "Poetenschule." Cf. Georg von Kress, "Die Berufung des Johannes Cochläus an die Schule bei St. Lorenz in Nürnberg im Jahre 1510," Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg, VII (1888), 19-38.

⁴Cf. Werminghoff, p. 85.

things the exemplary obedience displayed by the women of Ulm toward their husbands.

In Robertus Gaguinus we found an example of the praise of a German city by a Frenchman. About 1515 we can record a similar incident. This time it is Leipzig and chiefly its university which are celebrated by the English humanist Richardus Crocus¹ or Richard Croke (1489-1558). A student of Reuchlin, a friend of Hutten, and well known to Erasmus, he specialized in Greek language and letters. In 1514 or 1515 he makes his appearance at Leipzig and figures here as the first full-time lecturer on Greek. He enjoys an enormous popularity and reputation during his residence at Leipzig.² On the other hand, he was not in favor among the scholastic circles either at Leipzig or at Cambridge. He is recalled to Cambridge as the first lecturer on Greek and oratory in 1518 by King Henry VIII, after going in 1517 from Leipzig to Louvain. Croke, who has almost been forgotten in his native country, retains a place in the annals of Leipzig and its university. This is largely due to the oration which he composed in honor of the place of his activity. Here he praises the city and expresses the hope that it may rank equal with, though not exceed, Athens or Rome, assuming the latter still enjoy their pristine glory.³

In the encomiastic literature written by humanists one comes across poems addressed, at least so far as the introductory heading is concerned, to a single person, while in the text the poet speaks to the representatives of a city or a university. A short oration is then placed in front of the encomium proper. In

¹Achademie Lipsensis encomium congratulatorium (ca. 1515), reprinted in Joh. Gottlob Böhme, De Litteratura Lipsiensi opuscula academica (Leipzig, 1779), pp. 191-205; on Crocus cf. ibid., pp. 167-86. E. Böcking, Hutteni Opera, Supplem. II, 2, pp. 252 f. (the year of Crocus' death which Böcking gives as 1530 is wrong). G. Witkowski, Gesch. des lit. Lebens in Leipzig (Leipzig-Berlin, 1909), p. 36. John T. Sheppard, Richard Croke, a Sixteenth Century Don, Cambridge, 1919. For his activity at Leipzig, cf. ibid., pp. 14 ff.; for the eulogy, p. 16 (a passage is printed there in English translation).

²For references and sources on this, see Böcking and Sheppard.

³Cf. Böhme, op. cit., p. 195: "... vt breui plane sperandum sit, hanc urbem vel Athenis ipsis, si modo florerent, vel Romae, immo quotquot aut fuerunt, aut quot post aliis erunt in annis, posse opponi, ne dicam anteponi." The oration is interspersed with Greek phrases and passages in prose and verse.

these so-called poetic epistles the address to a particular person, even if his name should occur again, is of superficial importance and more or less a dedication of the epistle to him. An example of this is the Friburgica¹ (1515) of Philipp Engelbrecht Engentinus (ca. 1490-1528). A recommendatory epigram to the readers was prefixed by the humanist Johannes Zwick. In 1514, Engelbrecht had been appointed a member of the University of Freiburg. As an expression of gratitude he resolves to laud the city that has received him favorably. In his preliminary address he turns to the "Inlustris academiae Friburgensis gymnasiarchae (= rector) ceterisque senatoribus prudentissimis." This poorly organized encomium follows, on the whole, the sequence of the ancient rhetorical topics. Three sections are to be remarked in this poem of 430 verses: the narration of his arrival at Freiburg, the description of the city and its vicinity (vss. 51-400), and a laudatory epilogue. The whole suffers from over-abundance of details; the classical references only accentuate the rhetoric of descriptive passages which are frequently void of any local coloring whatsoever.²

An incomparably higher level is attained in a later encomium on Freiburg i. Br. by Johann Pedius Tethinger³ (1495-1558). He received his training in ancient languages and literatures under the humanist Heinrich Bebel. In 1511, he enrolled at the University of Freiburg. As early as 1515, he imparted instruction Latin style at a school in Freiburg, and from 1518 on he served

¹Printed in Neff, op. cit., pp. 55-72; cf. ibid., pp. xxvi-xxviii; for the editions, see ibid., p. xxxii. Parts of Engelbrecht's encomium have been translated into German by Heinrich Schreiber in the Freiburger Wochenblatt, year 1815, Nos. 72, 73, 81; cf. Jos. Neff, "Zwei Lobgedichte des Freiburger Magisters Joh. P. Tethinger," Alemannia, XX (1892), 262, n. 2. On Engelbrecht in general see J. Neff, Philipp Engelbrecht (Engentinus). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus am Oberrhein, Progr. Donaueschingen, I (1897), II (1898), III (1899); for his works in particular see part III.

²Georg Ellinger, who speaks of Engelbrecht's mediocre compositions, in his Gesch. d. neulat. Lit. (I, 503), passes this judgment on the Friburgica: "Das Beste, was er geschrieben."

³Contrary to general usage, the order of the name should be Johannes Tethinger Pedius, "Pedius" being the humanistic cognomen, perhaps a corrupted form derived from παῖς. Cf. Peter P. Albert, "Zur Lebens- und Familiengeschichte des Dichters und Geschichtsschreibers Joh. Tethinger Pedius," Zeitschr. f. d. Gesch. d. Oberrheins, LIV [= N.F. XV], (1900), 7-14.

as a teacher of Latin. He remained a successful and devoted pedagogue until the end of his days. His large family and the expensive life at Freiburg occasioned him pecuniary distress. Thus, in 1537, he applied for a teaching position in his home town, Pfullendorf (Swabia), and entered on his duties in the following year. The encomium which he wrote on Freiburg in 1538 owes its origin to this circumstance. It is a farewell poem, a genre well known to antiquity; the form is that of the poetic epistle in distichs.¹

The value of this encomium of 180 verses lies chiefly in its sincerity of spirit. This raises the author above those humanistic writers who are driven by poverty. Tethinger dedicates the work to his teacher, Johannes Kastmeier. In the introductory verses he gives the reason for his departure, dwells on his lack of material wealth (vss. 21 ff.), and confesses that he did not dare to ask the city administration for an increase in pay.² After this there follows the main part of his poem (vss. 49-140),³ in which he surveys the city, its streets, places, buildings, the cathedral, and the university. The peaks of the mountains and the road by which he plans to cross them arouse in him the desire to wend his way back to his beloved city. In the final section he ponders over his future residence, Pfullendorf, which he deems not lacking in advantages, and is moved to compare it with Freiburg.

This poem is somewhat of a confession. The motif of the farewell from friend and city which inspires the poem, creates an elegiac atmosphere which does not exist in his poem on Herdern. This, be it here remarked, is no city encomium proper, yet it shows Tethinger in a more attractive poetic mood. Tethinger had

¹Tethinger added this encomium and another one on the country-residence of his benefactor Joh. Mynsinger of Frundeck (1514-1588) at Herdern, a suburb of Freiburg, to his edition (1543) of the letters of Erasmus. Both poems have been printed by Jos. Neff, "Zwei Lobgedichte des Freiburger Magisters Joh. P. Tethinger," Alemannia, XX (1892), 254-69.

²Vss. 39 f.: Poscere non ausus quanto foret usus, abire
Decrevi ac tacito condere fata sinu.
vs. 48: Infelix extra moenia tollo pedes.

³These verses have been adequately translated into German by Heinr. Schreiber as "Beschreibung Freiburgs aus dem Jahr 1538," in the Freiburger Wochenblatt, year 1816, No. 7, p. 52; No. 8, p. 59 (reprinted in Alemannia, XX [1892], 263-65).

spent many leisure hours in Joachim Mynsinger's¹ country home. They awakened in him a feeling for the beauties of nature and the charms of the surrounding landscape. Thus the entire poem is permeated with gay melodies and an exuberant joy in life. Classical reminiscences, however, which Tethinger had used with wise reserve in his Friburgica, are too numerous and lead to exaggerated comparisons.

Wolfgang Cyclopius (born ca. 1476), closely associated with Wittenberg and Zwickau, is a humanist little known in the domain of encomiastic literature.² He counts among the first who enrolled at the new University of Wittenberg, founded in 1502. This abode of learning sought to promote the study of antiquity and to cultivate the humanistic spirit in every way possible.³ Before receiving his B.A. degree in 1503 and his M.A. in 1504, Cyclopius made extensive travels through Eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. Until 1508, he served as a lecturer in philosophy at Wittenberg. Afterwards he was active at Zwickau, and then again returned to Wittenberg to study medicine. He never neglected poetry and was known as an orator and poet. Like many humanists, he complains of the low esteem for poetry among his contemporaries. It is his ambition at least to make his native city of Zwickau famous through his poetry.⁴ This purpose is partly served by his Carmen de Cimbrorum adventu deque antiquitate

¹On Mynsinger, cf. Ellinger, Gesch. d. neulat. Lit., II, 232-38.

²His original name was Kandelgiesser or Kannegiesser, changed into Cantharifusorius, which he later on dropped in order to call himself, for reasons not apparent, Cyclopius. As to data on his life, see the short but informative article by Otto Clemen, "Ein Brief des Wolfgang Cyclopius von Zwickau," Neues Archiv f. sächs. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde, XXIII (1902), 134-37, and Gustav Bauch, "Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des schlesischen Humanismus I," Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens, XXVI (1892), 217 ff. For his active part in the Reformation see Friedr. Hülse, Die Einführung der Reformation in der Stadt Magdeburg (Magdeburg, 1883), pp. 44 ff.

³It is not my purpose here to speak of the significance of humanism and Reformation at the University of Wittenberg. It was the first university without a mediaeval tradition and was established by imperial and not papal charter. For this I refer to the very instructive work by Herbert Schöffler, Die Reformation, Bochum-Langendreer, 1936.

⁴Cf. Ellinger, op. cit., II, 61.

et origine urbis Cygnea.¹ This encomium centers around the mythological origin of Zwickau, "Palladis & Martis Mercuriique domus," as Cyclopius calls it in his verses. We have a learned etymologizing in the appellation "Schwanenstadt" deriving from Latin "cygnea" (sc. civitas).² Lang shares with our poet the opinion that Cygnus, the son of Hercules, and Swanhild reigned there before the arrival of the Cimbri (Cygnea, vulgo: Zvvicca; Lang, p. 1163). The Cimbri, who destroyed the city, called it, as Lang says (p. 1164): "vocabulo gentilitio (ut dictum est) Czibica quasi Cimbrica." In the Carmen written by Cyclopius we have, as the very title implies, praise of a city emphasizing a single topic or at any rate very few of the traditional topics of classical encomiastic poetry.³

Among the more important humanistic personalities belongs a poet who deserves more attention than he has received, one whose poems even Lessing accepted and published in revised translations.⁴ This man is Euricius Cordus Simesusius (after his birthplace Simtshausen, Upper Hesse), a poet and physician who lived from 1468 to 1535. Thirteen books of epigrams gave him a leading position among humanistic epigramatists.⁵ The sagacity

¹Parts of this are reprinted in Paul Lang's Chronicon Citizense ... (ab anno Domini DCCCCLVIII perductum usque ad annum MDXV), in Joh. Pistorius (3d ed. by Burcard Gotthelf Struve), Re-rum Germanicarum Scriptores, I (Regensburg, 1726); the whole Chronicon on pp. 1120-1291; Cyclopius' verses pp. 1164 f. The chronicle in its present form closes with 1515, so that the encomium of Cyclopius antedates this year. For the Chronicon, see E. K. Hermann Müller, "Das Chronicon Citizense des Benediktiner-mönches Paul Lang im Kloster Bosau und die in demselben enthaltenen Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie des 16. Jhds.," Neues Archiv f. sächs. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde, XIII (1892), 279-314.

²Cf. Zwickau's coat-of-arms showing three swans in the upper left and the lower right section. Zwickau developed chiefly in the 12th century; it obtained city rights in 1220 and was a "Reichsstadt" from 1290 until its transfer to Meissen in 1323. The Reformation was introduced there in 1521.

³It may be noted in passing that Lang is also the author of a Carmen de laudibus Saxoniae, some verses of which he cites in his Chronicon (ed. cit., pp. 1235 f. and 1252). The whole is printed in Schöttgen and Kreyssig, Diplomatische und curieuse Nachlese der Historie von Obersachsen, IX (Dresden-Leipzig, 1733), 105 ff.

⁴P. Albert, Lessings Plagiate, Hamburg, 1891.

⁵His Opera are rare. Karl Krause edited the epigrams of the first three books: Euricius Cordus Epigrammata (1520), in:

of his judgment, the effective part which he took in the cause of humanism and the Reformation, and the earnest portrayal which he gives of his time and especially of a poet's life, make Cordus' work a precious document of the early sixteenth century. Like many another humanist, he complains about the contempt with which poetry is regarded. Notable features in Cordus are his rigorous rejection of everything that is mediocre, his fight against injustice and corruption in social and ecclesiastical circles, and his defence of truth. The epigram is the most suitable vehicle for such ideas.

Here we are concerned only with Cordus' relations to encomiastic city poetry. It is not the city of Erfurt (where Eobanus Hessus was his fellow student) which finds a eulogizing echo in his poetry, but Goslar in the province of Hanover. His stay at Erfurt had been interrupted by medical studies in Italy. Toward the end of 1521 he returned to Erfurt as a doctor of medicine, but because of financial reasons he had to leave with his family. He went to Fritzlar and Goslar, whereafter he was appointed in 1523 physician of the city of Braunschweig. Hence the Goslar poems probably date from 1522. In 1527, he became professor of medicine at the University of Marburg, but he gave up this position in 1534 to become city physician and rector of the Gymnasium at Bremen. Here he died the following year.

Cordus provides excellent illustrations of the encomiastic city epigram, a type always reminiscent of Sannazaro's famous epigram on Venice. Both show clearly that the eulogy of a city has no need of epic length. He addresses the city of Goslar, which lies at the foot of the mountains and hitherto has attracted small notice. But now it has been elevated beyond the stars, since the genius of the poet has assured it immortality. The epigram deserves quotation:

In sylvam de laudibus & origine Gosolariae¹
Quae sita declivi Gosolaria ualle latebas,
Vix è uicinis conspicienda iugis.

"Lat. Litteraturdenkmäler d. XV. u. XVI. Jhds.," ed. by Max Herrmann, Vol. 5, Berlin, 1892. On Cordus' life and activity, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 111 ff. Karl Krause is entitled to the credit for having thrown the most light on Cordus. Cf. also G. Ellinger, *Gesch. d. neulat. Lit.*, II, 23-28.

¹Book V, epigr. 18, fol. 164^v in Euricii Cordi Semesusii Germani, *Poetae lepidissimi, Opera poetica omnia, iam primum collecta, ac posteritati transmissa* (s.l.e.a., 80). According to

Ardua iam sublime ferens super astra cacumen,
Perpetuos toto cerneris orbe dies.
Hoc etenim sacri munus solet esse poetæ,
Vt nequeat, uitam cui dedit ille, mori.

Cordus is also not free from sarcasm. He expects a reward.¹ An antischolastic attitude is very conspicuous in his works. The Goslar poems are, on the whole, free from it. This is, however, not the case with Ad Lipsiam,² which is also a eulogy on the Lutheran spirit, or with the poems dealing with Marburg.³

The reputation of Celtis' great work in the local literature on Nürnberg remained unshaken. The theme was treated again and again. Cochlaeus copied and paraphrased the Norimberga. Franciscus Irenicus Ettlingiacensis (1495-1559) inserted a description of Nürnberg in his treatise on Germany.⁴ An itinerary of 1517-1518 by the Italian cardinal, Luigi d'Aragona, falls to a certain extent within the sphere of city eulogies.⁵ In his de-

Ebert, Bibl. Lex., I (Leipzig, 1821), 401, this edition was published at Frankfurt on M. in 1550 (cf. K. Krause, op. cit., p. xxxii). The poems in the edition used have been numbered by a later reader.

¹Cf. e.g., Book V, epigr. 22, fol. 165^r-165^v: Ad Michaellem Lisarium, a poetic dialogue in which the miserly behavior of the municipal officials is treated ironically, or the two epigrams Ad Gosolariam (ep. 24, fol. 165^v) and Ad eandem (ep. 25, fol. 165^v), where he ridicules the situation of three men having brought him a small reward for his praise of Goslar, whereas he had lauded them as "fortes" (note the play on the double meaning "brave" and "physically strong").

²Book IX, epigr. 73, fols. 231^r-232^v.

³De Marpurgensi Gymnasio (VIII, 2, fol. 207^r and VIII, 23, fol. 210^r), In fores Gymnasij Marpurgensis (VIII, 35, fol. 211^v). Sarcasm is less evident in De schola Marpurgensi (XI, 79, fols. 259^r-260^v). One may add here that Cordus also wrote epigrams on Mantua, and at the same time a praise of its great son Vergil: Ad Mantuam urbem (IV, 35, fol. 152^v) and De natali solo Virgilij (IV, 36, fols. 152^v-153^r). Also worth mentioning is the encomium on his own house: In aedes suas (X, 67, fol. 246^r) and the praise of his birthplace, Simtshausen: De patria sua (V, 100, fol. 176^r).

⁴Germaniae exegeseos voluminae duodecim (first published by Thomas Anshelm, Hagenau, 1518), III, 112. The appendix of this edition contained Celtis' Norimberga. For Irenicus, cf. Adalbert Horawitz, "Nationale Geschichtsschreibung im sechzehnten Jahrhundert," Historische Zeitschrift, XXV (1871), 82-101.

⁵Ludwig Pastor, Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona durch Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien, 1517-1518 beschrieben von Antonio de Beatis ... (in: Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Gesch. d. dt. Volkes, IV, 4), Leipzig,

scription of Nürnberg he did not follow local writings but merely commended Nürnberg as well as other cities on the basis of his own observations. Melanchthon's oration In laudem novae scholae¹ likewise occupies an utterly independent position. He delivered this inaugural address for the new school on May 23, 1526, before the members of the city council and other learned representatives of Nürnberg.² Melanchthon wanted to convince his audience of the necessity for well-planned studies. He also mentions the advantages of a thorough education in the various fields of human knowledge; such an education affects the culture and civilization in both city and state. One can easily imagine that the citizens were pleased to hear that Nürnberg could claim the wisest and most learned men, a fact which accounted for the city's exemplary administration.³ Nor are the advantages of a broad education restricted to the bounds of their own city. The learned man schooled at Nürnberg will appear everywhere as its distinguished representative and thus increase and spread its glory. Melanchthon proceeds then with unrivalled eloquence to compare Nürnberg with Florence. Florence at that time also excelled in wisdom (here he includes a praise of Hellenic studies) and in municipal administration.

The late fifteenth and the whole of the sixteenth century are predominantly colored by influences from antiquity. Because the learned groups preferred literary Latin to the vernacular and because they held themselves aloof, they did not appeal to the

1905. Madeleine Havard de la Montagne, Voyage du Cardinal d'Aragon en Allemagne, Hollande, Belgique, France et Italie (1517-1518) par Don Antonio Beatis. Traduit de l'Italien d'après un manuscrit du XVI^e siècle, avec une introduction et des notes, Paris, 1913.

¹Karl Hartfelder, Philippus Melanchthon Declamationes ("Lat. Lit.-denkmäler," Vol. IV, Berlin, 1891), pp. 49-55; cf. ibid., introduction. Cf. also the passage "Schola nuper instituta" in H. Eobanus Hessus, Noriberga illustrata (1532), vss. 1313-1365 (Neff, op. cit., pp. 51-53). Eobanus does not mention Melanchthon.

²"... habitata Noribergae in corona doctissimorum virorum et totius ferme senatus. MDXXVI."

³Cf. also Melanchthon's by no means hyperbolic conception of municipal power and reputation: "Spartanus dixit muros debere ferreos esse, non saxeos. Ego vero non tam armis quam prudentia, moderatione et pietate defendi existimo." Op. cit., p. 52.

masses. In Italy, however, there existed a harmony between the cultured and the uncultured. The works of Hans Sachs (1494-1576) illustrate that a good deal of the humanistic spirit could be made intelligible to the German people; with him the amalgamation of humanistic spirit and native feeling was perhaps not as complete as in Italian writers. His city encomia, however, do not illustrate such an amalgamation. He wrote them between 1530 and 1569.

The earliest and best known of his ten city encomia is the Lobspruch der statt Nürnberg,¹ written February 20, 1530. As one expects, Sachs' encomia are something quite different from those we have considered. In the Nürnberg poem the poet takes a walk about the city, lies down to rest on a meadow, and has a vision which is filled with many symbols referring to Nürnberg. When the wanderer awakens, he learns that he has seen more than dreams, for a guide comes and convinces him of the reality of everything. Very minute and detailed descriptions emphasize the brief allusions to various portions of his dreams. Finally, the poet comes to the conclusion that the city's significance is now more evident to him.

We must examine the Nürnberg poem more critically. Its poetical form is characteristic of Hans Sachs. It would be wrong to evaluate the arrangement according to the traditional rules of the past. Suffice it to say that the poem possesses a relatively logical structure. It is essential to determine the type of encomium to which the Lobspruch belongs, without, however, attempting to emphasize what may be termed typology in poetry. Rudolf Genée² thinks that the encomium is more similar to Hasz's than to Rosenblüt's. This would of course speak for its interpretative and narrative character. According to Neff,³ the poem belongs to the topo-geographical type. He later limits his statement⁴ by saying that the poem occupies an intermediate position between the poems of Rosenplüt and Hasz. Closer scrutiny of the poem

¹Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, Vol. 105 (Tübingen, 1870), pp. 189-99. Hans Sachs Werke, ed. by Arnold ("Kürschners Deutsche Nat. Lit.," Vol. 20 [Berlin-Stuttgart, n.d.]), pp. 131-42.

²Hans Sachs und seine Zeit (2d. ed.; Leipzig, 1902), p. 188, repeated on pp. 488 f.

³Op. cit., p. xvii, n. 1.

⁴Ibid., pp. xxii f.

best answers the question of arrangement and of aesthetic evaluation.

The introduction naively and poetically describes the abundance of nature. This nature-scene delights the wanderer so much that he falls to dreaming.¹ Presently the visions are described (pp. 189,27-191,12). This part of the poem abounds in poetical qualities, such as the allegory of the black eagle decorated with tastefully arranged red and white roses. This allegory has reference to the Nürnberg coat-of-arms.² The vision is carried even further. The eagle, in an endeavor to protect his brood, is attacked from all sides and is persecuted with envy and hatred. He is aided by four protectresses or the tutelary goddesses of wisdom, justice, truth and fidelity, and sovereignty.

When the vision is at an end, a guide seeks to interpret the allegorical reveries. After a short introduction (p. 191,13-38), one comes to the description proper of Nürnberg. This consists of a minute enumeration of facts not characteristic of Hans Sachs' other encomia. Poetic qualities are completely wanting; the absence of comparisons gives an impression of vague generalization. These generalities are the dry statistics of guide books, which endeavor to impress by their figures rather than by their content (cf. pp. 192,26-193,9, especially p. 192,26-36). This part of the poem is the weakest. The description here of the people and their characteristics might apply as well to any other trading-place. This section of the poem concludes with the poet's inquiries about the administration (p. 194,12 ff.). The answer takes up almost the rest of the poem and has some value for cultural history. The poems of Hasz and Sachs both commend the council and the municipal administration in general, although Sachs' characterization³ of "weiser rat" lacks the interpretative explanation.

¹For nature-introduction, see A. Taylor, The Literary History of Meistergesang (New York, 1937), 123 f.

²For Happendichtung, introduced by Konr. v. Würzburg, see G. Ehrismann, Gesch. d. dt. Lit. bis z. Ausg. d. M.-alters, I (Schlussband, Munich, 1935), 53, 491.

³P. 194, 15-22: Da ist in dieser stat
Ein fürsichtiger weiser rat,
Der so fürsichtiglich regiert
Und alle ding fein ordiniert,
Der alles volck in dieser stat
In acht vierteyl geteylet hat,

ation found in Kuntz Hasz. The passage which deals with administrative affairs is very short and consists primarily of bare facts (pp. 194,13-195,5). The disappointment aroused by the immediately following identification of the eagle with the council is toned down by the fine quality of the subsequent passages. These resume the allegorical visions which are interpreted and compared at length. Although generalizing enumerations occasionally appear (cf. particularly p. 197,16-29 and p. 198,1-17), Nürnberg can be identified definitely as the object of praise.

What conclusions can be drawn from the preceding examination?¹ As I have intimated, the Lobspruch itself shows a rather well-planned arrangement. The various parts of the encomium are, however, of unequal poetical value. To make the vision conform to everyday realities requires a change of tenor. The allegorical passages with their irrational atmosphere raise the Lobspruch above his other city poems.

The general effect then is that this commendation suffers from lack of balance. Genée's unqualified estimate² must be accepted therefore only conditionally. Sachs is an independent; he follows neither Rosenplüt nor Hasz. Neff is right in saying that the Lobspruch occupies an intermediate position. It is important to remember that Sachs was spontaneously incited to write the poem by his genuine love for Nürnberg. He needed no artificial devices to communicate this feeling to his contemporaries.

This genuineness and poetical spontaneity, however, are not present in his other city poems. He knew the cities of Salzburg, Munich, and Frankfurt on Main. He had seen Salzburg about 1514, but it was not until 1549 that he wrote the Lobspruech der stat Saltzburg.³ Naturally many changes had taken place in the

Darnach in hauptmanschafft gar fleissig,
Der sind hundert und zwo und dreissig.
(Italics mine.)

¹For the sake of emphasis the examination could have been carried on even more extensively. The net result, however, would have remained the same.

²Op. cit., p. 190.

³Exact date: April 9, 1549. Edition by Emil Haueis; also separately (from the Mitt. d. Ges. f. Salzburger Landeskunde, XXXIV [1894], 227-59), Vienna-Salzburg, 1895 (with introduction and explanations).

city during this interval, but these do not appear in his encomium. The greater part of this poem is taken from Alt's translation of Schedel's Liber chronicarum.¹ The striking similarity between the initial verses of the poems by Hasz and Sachs² may be only a conventional introduction familiarly used in the schools of the Meistersinger. The reference in these verses is to Sachs' visit to a printing-office. This interest in printing was probably no more than a momentary one. The mechanism of having a guide extol the town, used in the poem on Nürnberg, is employed again for the history of Salzburg ("Swie das die Cronica in hat," vs. 39). Later, however, Sachs discovers more virtues than the guide had mentioned. The poetic value of the eulogy on Salzburg is not great, nor is there any depth of thought. The chief merits perhaps are the popular language and the free and easy rhythm.

This kind of encomium was printed on a separate sheet and was frequently adorned with contrafacturen of the city-panorama. The dates of the reprints are practically unknown. The poems are partly reminiscences and partly job-orders to supply book-store and city trade. They might be regarded as a kind of Travel-Bureau pamphlets sold to visitors. There is little or no connection between Sachs' travels and the cities chosen. The short Lobspruech der statt München in Payern³ is the last poem in his seventeenth Spruchbuch of September 11, 1565. The Spruch deals chiefly with the early history of the city as it is found in Alt's translation of Schedel's chronicle.

An encomium on a city unknown to Sachs at first hand is Ain lobspruech der haubt-stat Wien in Oesterreich (Dec. 1, 1567).⁴

¹See the parallels in the appendix to Haukeis' edition.

²Hasz: Von jugent auf so het ich gunst
Zu schöner meisterlicher Kunst.

Sachs: Von Jugend auf so het ich guonst
Zu Drueckerei, der lobling Kuonst.

³First published by Karl Trautmann, "Hans Sachsens bisher verschollener Lobspruch der Stadt München," Jahrbuch f. Münchener Geschichte, III (1891), 429-31. Also in Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, Vol. 207 (Tübingen, 1895), pp. 264-66.

⁴First published by Emil Haukeis, Hans Sachs: Lobspruch der Hauptstadt Wien in Oesterreich, printed separately from the Jahresbericht des niederöstrerr. Landes-Realgymn. Baden, 1876), Vienna, 1876. Heiner. Káb de Bo, Die Dichtungen des Hans Sachs

This time Sachs' source is the description of fifteenth-century Vienna by Aeneas Silvius,¹ a picture which Sachs would certainly have modified, had he seen the city himself. Sachs does not go beyond the enumeration of brief historical data.²

Similar to the encomium on Vienna are the poems on Frankfurt (Sept. 29, 1568), Nördlingen (Nov. 20, 1568), Regensburg (Feb. 19, 1569), Lüneburg (March 17, 1569), Lübeck (March 21, 1569), and Hamburg (April 30, 1569).³

The humanists of Nürnberg naturally did not notice the service rendered to the city by Sachs' eulogy. An example of this complete disregard appears in Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488-1540), one of the coryphaei of Neo-Latin literature, whose life and works were at first closely associated with Erfurt.⁴

zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna, 1878), pp. 71-82. Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, Vol. 207, pp. 304-308.

¹In Rud. Wolkan, Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini ("Fontes rerum Austriacarum," II, 61, Vienna, 1909), I, 1, 80 ff.; in the German translation by M. Mell, Enea Silvio de Piccolomini, Briefe ("Das Zeitalter der Renaissance," ed. by M. Herzfeld, I, 3, Jena, 1911), pp. 48 ff. Cf. Werminghoff, op. cit., p. 69, n. 2.

²A poetic description of Vienna prior to the one by Sachs was written in 1547 or '48 by Wolfgang Schmeltzl; for details and editions see J. W. Nagl and J. Zeidler, Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte, I (Vienna, 1899), 548, n. 4 and 549. In addition, one might mention a Spanish encomium on Vienna by Wolf Cristóbal de Castillejo.

³Ein lobspruech der stat Franckfurt, Bibl. d. lit. Ver. Stuttgart, Vol. 207, pp. 399-402. Ein lobspruech der reichstat Nörlingen in Schwaben, ibid., pp. 412-14. Ein lobspruech und contrafactur Regensburg, des heilligen römischen reichs freystat, ibid., pp. 325-27. Ein lobspruech der stat Lünenburg und irer gelegenheit, ibid., pp. 445-47; cf. Gotthelf Lindemann, "Hans Sachs 'Ein Lobspruch der Stadt Lüneburg,'" Lüneburger Museumsblätter, XI (1925), 254-57. Die mechtig stat Lübeck mit irem ursprung, handel und kriegem angezaigt, Bibl. d. lit. Ver., Vol. 207, pp. 450-52. Contrafactur Hamburg, der namhaften stat in Sachsen an der Elb, sampt irem pistum und regiment, ibid., pp. 464-67; cf. "Hans Sachsens 'Lobspruch auf Hamburg' (1569)," Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Hamburgische Gesch., V (1866), 65-71. Cf. also H. Gieske, "Über den Hans Sachs zugeschriebenen Lobspruch auf die Stadt Rostock," Arch. f. Lit.-gesch., X (1881), 13-34; F. Bachmann, "Das Hans Sachsische Gedicht zu Hans Weigels Ansicht von Rostock," Jahrbücher d. Ver. f. mecklenburgische Gesch., LXXXVIII (1924), 129-30, 155-58 'contrary to Gieske, who denies the ascription to Rostock).

⁴His original name was Eoban Koch; on him in general, cf. G. Ellinger, Gesch. d. neulat. Lit. Deutschlands, II, 3-23;

Through Melanchthon Hessus obtained a position at the new Aegidien-school at Nürnberg in 1526.¹ He returned to Erfurt in 1535, but no longer successful there, he accepted a professorship at the University of Marburg (1536). He died there in 1540. His prolific literary activity shows that Eobanus possessed a character which could adapt itself at will to gay moods or sad. He is especially proud of his intellectual capacities.² The long encomium of March, 1532, which Eobanus dedicated to the senate and the administrative officers of Nürnberg,³ was born more of financial necessity than of feelings of gratitude. He tells us himself in the prose address that he will write a poem, not a history, about Nürnberg. He also complains about the many worthless books and pamphlets which have been and still are being written by amateurs (here Eobanus means non-humanists⁴). He ignores Hans Sachs and his poem on Nürnberg as well as other popular writers in and about Nürnberg. It would have been beneath the intellectual pride of a humanist to rank those outside his own world and training on an equal level. And in fact, in matters of poetic technique Eobanus is far superior to Sachs. Celtis' treatise on Nürnberg encouraged Eobanus⁵ and likewise the circumstance that Trier and Bordeaux had been commended by the panegyrist Ausonius and Leipzig by Buschius (vss. 140 ff.). Eobanus proposed

L. Geiger, *Ren. u. Hum.*, pp. 466-68 (entirely condemning attitude); Joachim Camerarius, *Narratio de Helio Eobano Hesso*, Leipzig, 1696. Eobanus wrote a markedly rhetorical eulogy on the University of Erfurt (1506); cf. Ellinger, II, 19, and *id.*, *Deutsche Lyriker des 16. Jhds.* ("Lat. Lit.-denkmäler," Vol. 7, Berlin, 1893), p. xvi.

¹In a short encomium on Nürnberg (1527) he expressed his gratitude for this appointment; cf. Neff, p. xx. Carl Krause, *Helius Eobanus Hessus. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur und Gelehrten-geschichte des 16. Jhds.* (Gotha, 1879), II, 20 ff.; cf. Camerarius, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 f.

²"Eoban besass Talent, aber keinen Charakter," (L. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 467).

³*Urbs Noriberger Illustrata*, in Neff, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-54; cf. *ibid.*, pp. xix f., xxiii-xxv.

⁴Neff, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 f.: "... indignor indoctissimis etiam idiotis idem licere, quod aequum fuerat doctis tantum per-mittere." He refrains from citing names.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6.

to include important details which Celtis had omitted.¹

In a long encomium of 1387 verses, Eobanus handles adequately the abundant material and blends form with content. In praising the city and especially its mild climate (pp. 24 f.; vss. 465-99), the author does not servilely imitate the rules of the ancients for encomia, but he does write in their spirit. It is a sign of good taste that Eobanus limited himself to those details for which he had a special predilection. The poetic element is strongly discernible in such passages as treat of the work in the quarries (vss. 565-600), the well nearby (vss. 601-33), the armory (vss. 634-92), the market-place, a fountain (vss. 814-50 and 851-79), and the iron forge (vss. 1151-1230). Of the almost same high quality are the passages which discuss the works of art in Nürnberg. Like Celtis, however, he does not cite the famous artists who have contributed to the reputation of the city. Whatever the character and motives of the other works of Eobanus, and to whatever extent one may or may not agree with L. Geiger's condemnation of him, the Noriberga Illustrata is a climax in the encomiastic literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

With Eobanus, city encomia dealing with Nürnberg are almost concluded. Not long after him (1547), one finds a description by Girolamo Faleti, count of Trigano (ca. 1518-1564), who accompanied Don Francesco d'Este in the campaign against the Smalkald Protestant League.² Faleti's description is an independent one, although both he and Eobanus praised the same features of the city.³

¹Notice the similar attitude of Hasz toward Rosenplüt. For the literary relations between Eobanus and Rosenplüt, cf. Neff, pp. xxiv f.

²A discussion on this report is given by Walter Friedensburg, "Nürnberg im Jahre 1547. Ein Bericht Girolamo Faletis," Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg, XV (1902), 195-200; Girolamo's Italian text, ibid., pp. 200-205.

³Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Nürnberg is treated again by Paul Schede Melissus (1539-1602) in two odes: Mele sive odae ad Noribergam et Septemviros Reip. Norib., Nürnberg, 1580 (2d ed., 1581); only odes 1 and 10 refer to the city. His works are rare. For Schede Melissus, see e.g., Otto Taubert, De vita et scriptis Pauli Schedii Melissi, Diss. Bonn, 1859, and its translation, Paul Schede (Melissus) Leben und Schriften, Progr. Torgau, 1864. Roth and J. K. Höck, "Von Paul Melissus und dessen Schriften," Literarische Blätter, IV (1804), cols. 199-205 (on his psalms); 209-16 (bibliogr. on his works); 366-67. A. M. Köhl,

The second half of the sixteenth and the entire seventeenth centuries constitute a period of decline in encomiastic city literature. The superabundance of city poems, ordinarily of very poor quality, is bewildering and makes the collection of this material quite laborious. Bohemian-German humanism remains by and large an unexplored field. Little has been done in city literature since the toilsome investigations in Rudolf Wolkan's Böhmens Anteil an der deutschen Litteratur.¹

A conspicuous element in Bohemian humanism is, among other things, the prominence of the nobles (cf. Bohuslav Lobkowitz of Hassenstein) and the importance of their castles as centers of learning. Of great importance was the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348 (under Karl IV, 1347-78), the first institution of this kind in the Holy Roman Empire. Before that time Paris was the favored place; during the fourteenth century, the Italian universities usurped the position of Paris. In Bohemia, Italian influence gained in strength as a result of the influence which Cola di Rienzo and Petrarch exerted upon Johann von Neumarkt. The latter, the chancellor of Karl IV, became the patron of French and Italian culture and learning. Even more than the University

"Über den Geburtsort und die Schriften des fränk. Dichters Paulus Melissus Schedius," Lit. Blätter, VI (1805), cols. 113-26; 358 (this article is signed C.C.N.). As to the elegy on Königshofen, Franconia, the home of his father, cf. Lit. Blätter, VI (1805), 115. Aug. Koberstein, Gesch. d. dt. Nationallitteratur, II (5th ed.; Leipzig, 1872), pp. 80 f. and 80, n. 8. Pierre de Nolhac, Un poète rhénan ami de la Pléiade, Paul Melissus ("Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance," Nouv. Série, IX), Paris, 1923; also in Revue de Littérature comparée, I (1921), 185-214, 484-503; II (1922), 30-53, 513-36. There is also a collection by Melissus called Epigrammata in urbes Italiae, 1585. The ode on Rome (1585) is reprinted in Nolhac, p. 31, the wonderful Latin poem on the Rhine, ibid., p. 6. Melissus was an enthusiastic panegyrist of Paris; his favorite place on the Rhine seems to have been the town of Bacharach. A peculiar combination of Paris, or more exactly, the hills of Saint Cloud, and Bacharach (which he interprets as "Bachi ara") is the ode Ad Augerium Gislenium Busbequium, Caess. Consil., in Nolhac, pp. 56 f.; on Paris, ibid., p. 50, and the ode Ad Ianum Antonium Baifium, ibid., pp. 60 f.; cf. also the truly humanistic eulogy on the University of Paris, chiefly on its scholars and poets: Pauli Melissi Melos ad academiam Parisiensem, ibid., pp. 84 f.

Another laudation on Nürnberg (in hexameters) was written by Martin Sebaldu (1595): Descriptio civitatis Noribergae emporii totius Germaniae celeberrimi, Leipzig, 1595, Nürnberg, 1762; cf. Neff, pp. xii and xxvi.

¹Prague, 1890, 1891, 1894. Prof. Arnošt Kraus (Česka Univerzita, Prague), a specialist in this field, was kind enough to inform me about the rudimentary investigations of Bohemian humanism.

of Prague the court took great interest in the new currents of the age. The study of the ancients necessarily had to be pursued outside the university, which devoted itself to classical studies for ecclesiastical purposes. Yet even here new paths were broken; Aeneas Silvius, the central figure of the time, gathered around himself many intellectual followers.¹ Simultaneously a change took place from a nationalistic to a more cosmopolitan attitude and closer associations with German humanists followed, particularly in the sixteenth century.

It is not astonishing that with the humanistic predilection for certain literary genres encomia were cultivated by the Bohemians. It is interesting to notice that a Latin city poem appears earlier in Bohemia than in Germany. It is the encomium in eighteen stanzas on Iglau (Czech: Jihlava), written by a learned monk, perhaps Urbanus de Pochyech.² This place, mentioned in the twelfth century and a city since 1250, had been famous for its mines down to the fifteenth century. This poetical description in rime is a hymn, preceded by an allegorical and mystical treatise in prose. This encomium, composed before 1418, was probably intended to serve as an example for this epideictic genre.³ The praise is extended to Iglau's situation, the silver mines, the rivers abounding in fish, the good climate, the character of the inhabitants, and the effective police measures. The author's

¹Cf. his De Bohemorum origine et gestis historia, translated in 1464 by Georg of Podiebrad. For Bohemia and Moravia cf. Nadler, II, 241-59. For Aeneas Silvius and Bohemia, cf. e.g., Wolkan, pp. 107-10, and Adolf Bachmann, "Ein Jahr böhmischer Geschichte. Georgs von Podiebrad Wahl, Krönung u. Anerkennung," Arch. f. Österr. Gesch., LIV (1876), 37-174. Unless otherwise stated, "Wolkan" refers to the third part of Böhmens Anteil dealing with literature; Part I will be cited as Wolkan (Bibliogr.), Part II as Wolkan (texts).

²W. Wattenbach, "Candela rhetoricae. Eine Anleitung zum Briefstil aus Iglau," Archiv f. Kunde Österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen, XXX (1864), 181-202. For the ascription to Urbanus, see p. 201.

³1st stanza: Vale decus honestatis,
Lux et candor probitatis,
Ciuitas Yglawie,
Laude fulgens singulari,
Nec vrbs tibi comparari
Valet in Moravia.
Ergo gaude iugiter mente iubilosa,
Psalle voce pariter, flagrans es ut rosa.

The last two verses serve as refrain.

deprecatory allusions to the nobility refer to historical events of 1402. His abhorrence of the adherents of Wiclif is expressed without moderation. In view of his position as a clergyman, however, he refrains from eulogizing the ladies.¹ A prayer for the city and the welfare of the inhabitants brings the poem to a close. The chief value of this encomium lies in its importance for the local history of Iglau, and, to some extent, for the study of rhetorical exercises in early Bohemian humanism. One might be tempted to assert that the choral rhythm only emphasizes the impression that the author was a man standing apart from the pulsating life around him. This poem marks also the turn of a new era. It is one of the last city encomia resembling a hymn.

Almost an entire century passes before a city is again treated by a Bohemian humanist. The first encomium to come to hand selects for treatment a single historical event. This is Veit Neubauer's German poem² on the fire of Brůx (Western Bohemia) in 1515. It can scarcely be called a city encomium.

In 1593, the same city finds a panegyrist in the humanist Georg Barthold Pontanus of Braitenberg (middle of the 16th century-1616). This encomium in six books³ brings attention to a

¹Stanza 13:

Non describo feminarum
Neque statum puellarum
Vrbis vestre; racio:
Fuit mihi nam cum illis
Aut ipsarum cum ancillis
Nulla conversacio.

²Eine erschreckliche Geschicht von der grossen Feuerbrunst so geschehen in der Stadt Brůx im Königreich Behaim anno 1515 Jhar [!] am Sonntag vor Oculi, welches war am Tag Gregorii, printed in Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Deutschen in Böhmen, XXVIII (1890), 26-29. Cf. Wolkan, p. 319 and Wolkan (Bibl.), No. 6. The singling out of one fact and combining with it some kind of praise reminds one of Jörg Kienast's Loblied auf Strassburg bei Gelegenheit der Hungersnoth im Jahre 1517 verfasst, ed. by Rud. Reuss in Alsatia, N.F., 1868-72, pp. 151-65, and in Richard Gosche, "Die Lieder und Reime von Strassburg," Arch. f. Litt.-gesch., II (1872), 138-46.

³Bruxia Bohoemiae, delineate carmine, rebusque suis memorabilibus illustrata, erga diuos, erga patriam charissimam gratitudines et observantiae ergo, authore Goergio Bartholdo Pontano a Braitenberg, Prague, 1593. Cf. Wolkan, pp. 165-67. I am obliged to Prof. A. Kraus for calling my attention to his article, "Husitství v literatuře" (Das Hussitentum in der Literatur [bes. der deutschen]), Česká akademie vědaumění v Praze, Rozpravy (Ab-

feature almost unknown in German city poems: the sharp distinction between two nationalistic attitudes (here the German and the Bohemian). There is, on the one hand, a certain indifference to national interests, and on the other an outspoken partiality, for Hussite or Catholic views. Pontanus, who wrote in German and Czech but preferred Latin, was not interested in the national problems of his time, but concentrated rather on religious matters. The value of his encomiastic description lies in his endeavor to adhere to historical truth.

His direct counterpart is Wenzel Ripa, who in 1605 lauded the city of Saaz (Czech: Zatec, Western Bohemia, a famous stronghold of the Hussites) in forty elegiac verses.¹ Ripa shows his ultra-nationalistic Czech attitude and, contrary to Pontanus, expatiates on fables and mythological details.²

The Bohemian cities which are repeatedly commended are Joachimsthal (Czech: Jáchymov) and Karlsbad (Czech: Karlovy Vary). Founded about 1517, Joachimsthal had become famous for its rich silver mines.³ It is easy to understand why this fame echoed again and again in literature. Hans Rudthard, apparently an expert on mining, undertook to sing Vonn dem weytberuffenenem [sic!] Berckweg Sanct Joachimsthal in 1520.⁴ The merits of the poem lie again not in its poetic quality but in its documentary

handlungen der tschech. Akad. d. Wiss. u. Künste), III. Kl., No. 45 (1917), pp. 249 ff., where he treats the Bruxia Bohoemiae, Georg Ostracius on Saaz (1573), Wenzel Ripa on Saaz (1605), Pantaleon Candidus' Bohemais, and Augustin Tichtenbaum on Aussig (Czech: Ustí, 1614). He deals primarily with religious history.

¹Lucko, seu principatus vrbis Zacae in quo res gestae, cum Ducibus ab origine ipsius usque ordine historico ex varijs Rerum Bohaemicarum Scriptoribus selectae, Elegijs, per libros III digestis, describuntur, Annis suis cuilibet argumento Elegiae praefixis. Per Venceslaum Ripam Stankovinum, Prague, 1605. Cf. Wolkan, pp. 167 and 491, no. 204.

²Saaz had been praised before (in 1573) by Georg Ostracius, Descriptio poetica urbis et scholae Zatecensis, reprinted in Progr. d. Gymnasiums Saaz, 1851. Cf. Wolkan, pp. 166 f.

³For the significance of this city in Bohemian history and literature, see Wolkan, pp. 40-48. The "Joachimsthaler" was coined there since 1519; the name was transferred to coins of similar weight (Thaler, cf. Dollar).

⁴Wolkan, pp. 320-21; for the long full title, cf. Wolkan (Bibl.), No. 16.

value for local history. The importance of the eulogy is not decreased by the circumstance that the early records of many Bohemian cities have been destroyed. Rudthard's verses are furthermore a valuable document for information about mining in the early sixteenth century.¹

A year later there appears an anonymous praise of the mining city: Ein schon gedicht von dem loblichen bergkwerck in Sant Joachimstall. Im jare nach Christ geburt tausend funff hundert vnd ein vnd zweyntzigsten.² It informs us concerning the rapid development of the city and the mines. Today the importance of the poem probably lies in its sociological views. As a representative of his fellow citizens the author detests the exploitation of the workers by the owners and the unsocial behavior of the rich classes, whose life of ease is contrasted with the grinding labor of the poor miners. According to this writer the fame of Joachimsthal is undeserved. He appeals to the conscience of a corrupt magistracy and proposes drastic remedial measures.

Joachimsthal furnishes also an example of special type of encomium, namely the city song (Städteloblied). A transition form is the versified description of a shooting match (Schützenfest) held at Joachimsthal in 1521. It was written by Hans Lutz of Augsburg.³ He is a restless wanderer. Descriptions of this kind, generally rich in variety and rapidly alternating pictures, give admirable expression to popular local patriotism.

The literary genre of Schützenfestlieder lies on the periphery of encomiastic city literature. The length, the inartistic elaboration of every possible detail, and the tasteless mode of expression in these songs betrays the mercenary object for which they were written. They constitute the extreme popular transfor-

¹Wolkan (p. 320) expresses his desire to see a new critical edition of this rare work, which he feels to be of linguistic interest.

²Two hundred and forty verses, printed in Wolkan (texts), pp. 52-55; Wolkan (Bibl.), No. 13; Wolkan, p. 319.

³Wolkan, pp. 321-23; W. (Bibl.), No. 11 (a passage is printed there, the whole in Wolkan [texts], pp. 56-61); id., Allg. dt. Biogr., LII (1906), 137. Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, "Über Pritschenmeister (Hans Lutz)," Arch. f. Lit.-gesch., IX (1880), 443-44. A. Bernt, "Zum Liede des Hans Lutz auf das Joachimsthaler Schützenfest vom Jahre 1521," Mitt. d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Deutschen in Böhmen, XLII (1904), 107-108.

mation of those ideas which found expression at the courts in tournaments (cf. Wolkan, p. 323). High ideals and noble motives are reserved for court poetry. The matter-of-fact character of these poems is emphasized by the habit of reinforcing their credibility with an official list of marksmen. This type of city songs seems to have been cultivated, both in verse and in prose, primarily during the sixteenth century.¹

The city songs on Joachimsthal have a value only for the local historian.² The so-called "Bergreihen"³ as far as they refer to city literature, a combination of a professional or workman's song and a city poem, must have been in favor at Joachimsthal, as the number and the mutual borrowings (not plagiarisms!) betray.⁴

¹Someone should study the origin and development of the Schützenfest and its reflection in popular literature with reference to the attitude of the people toward the ideals of the tournament.

A productive versifier in this field was Leonhard Flexel (Flechsel, Flächsel, and other variants). I confine myself to bibliographical information. On Flexel cf. Bartsch in *Allg. dt. Biogr.*, VII (1878), 119. Karl Wassmannsdorf, *Des Pritschenmeisters Lienhard Flexel's Reimspruch über das Heidelberger Armbrustschieszen des Jahres 1554* (Bei Gelegenheit der 500jähr. Jubelfeier d. Univ. Heidelb. hrg. Mit einem Lichtdruck aus Merian's Panorama Heidelbergs), Heidelberg, 1886 (42 pp.). Max Radlkofer, "Beschreibung des Büchschenschiessens im Jahr 1555 zu Passau durch den Augsburger Pritschenmeister Lienhart Flexel, Mit Einl. u. Anm. hrg.," *Verhandlungen d. histor. Ver. f. Niederbayern*, XXX (1893), 129-72. On Rottweil (Württemberg): Johannes Ott, "Das grosse Rottweiler Herrenschiessen anno 1558 von Lienhart Flexel," *Alemannia*, VI (1878), 201-28. Alb. Camesina R. v. San Vittore, "Das grosse Festschiessen zu Wien im Jahre 1563. Besungen vom Augsburger Pritschenmeister Lienhart Flexel," *Blätter d. Vereines f. Landeskunde f. Niederösterreich*, N.F. IX (1875), 32-36, 140-45, 215-21, 235-39; X (1876), 101-103. Aug. Edelmann, *Lienhard Flexel's Lobspruch des fürstlichen Freischiessens zu Innsbruck [1569]*, Innsbruck, 1885 (one facs., 63 pp.). *Leonhart Flechsel's gereimte Beschreibung des Frey- und Herren-Schiessens mit der Armbrust und einem Glückshafen, gehalten zu Worms im Jahr 1575* (Festgabe zum 1. dt. Bundes-Schiessen im Juli 1862 in Frankfurt a. M.), Worms, 1862 (48 pp.). W. Zils, "München vor dreihundertfünfzig Jahren. Aus: Lobspruch des grossens Schiessens zu München, Anno 1577 (von Lienhart Flexel)," *Kultur des Handwerks* (Munich, 1927), 431-33.

²On this cf. Wolkan, pp. 311 ff.

³For details and bibliography, see Wolkan, p. 511.

⁴To mention some: Valentin Schneider, *Der Fünfft Bergkreyen von Sant Joachimsthal vnd Herr Steffen Schlick* (before 1530), printed in Wolkan, pp. 311-13; another "Reihen" without special title (somewhat later) in Wolkan, pp. 314-16; Anon., *Lob-*

The second Bohemian city celebrated in encomia is Karlsbad. First mentioned in 1325, it rapidly increased in importance. Karl IV erected a castle there in 1358. Until 1520, the Karlsbad water was used only for bathing. In 1521, Wenzel Beyer (Payer), the city physician, introduced the drinking-cures; this increased the reputation and the popularity of this spa.¹

Karlsbad had as panegyrist no other than the leader of Bohemian humanism, Bohuslav Lobkowitz of Hassenstein (1462-1510),² a sincere critic of his time, and by virtue of his extensive travels in Greece, the Orient, North Africa, Italy, and other countries, a man with an open mind. His indefatigable activity in collecting ancient works and manuscripts in his castle at Hassenstein soon focused the attention of the literary world on this hitherto little known spot in Bohemia. His famous ode on Karlsbad, In thermas Caroli IV., was written in 1521, apparently a decisive period for the glorification of the spa.³

A long time elapses before Karlsbad is eulogized again. The exact date of the poem is not known, since the author, Elias

sprach etlicher Loblichen Berckwerk, cf. Wolkan, p. 317. Simon Rössler (1540), cf. Wolkan, pp. 317 and 511, n. 115. Eobanus Hessus, too, who had visited Joachimsthal in 1536, wrote a Latin poem on this place; cf. Wolkan, p. 47.

¹Wenzel Beyer (1488-1526), a native of Elbogen (Bohemia) wrote the first scientific work on the mineral springs of Karlsbad; the whole treatise is at the same time a eulogy of the city: Tractatus de thermis Caroli IV. imperatoris, sitis prope Elbogen et vallem s. Joachimi editus a doctore Venceslao Payer de Cubito, alias Elbogen....., Leipzig, 1521. The work was very popular; a new edition containing the letters of other physicians on Karlsbad makes this addition to the title: cui adiunctae sunt eiusdem Argumenti Clariss. quorundam Medicorum epistolae...., Leipzig, 1614. For Beyer see Wolkan, p. 170, and Allg. dt. Biogr., XLVI (1902), 535.

²Wolkan, pp. 110-21; Nagl-Zeidler, I, 464-68; Ellinger, I, 411-15.

³Re-edited by Joh. de Carro (1770-1829) as Ode latine sur Carlsbad avec une translation polyglotte, Prague, 1829. A German translation from the French by Rittersberg was published separately in the same year. Lobkowitz's description of another city, Prague, portrays the low level of public behavior. This text is printed in Ignaz Cornova, Der grosse Böhme Bohuslav von Lobkowitz und zu Hassenstein nach seinen eigenen Schriften geschildert (Prague, 1808), pp. 458-68; cf. Wolkan, p. 114. Lobkowitz's memorial speech on his friend Peter Schott, in Viri Argentinienses, contains a praise of Strassburg (in Lobkowitz's Farrago Poematum, ed. by Thomas Mitis, Prague, 1570).

Corvinus (ca. 1530-ca. 1600), published his works at Leipzig in 1568 as a collection.¹ Unlike the majority of the humanists, Corvinus appears in his poems as a very earnest man who speaks little about the joys of life. Apart from Karlsbad's mineral springs, which attracted him especially, he also wrote--although not in independent poems--commendatory verses on his native city of Joachimsthal.²

Superficial in his work and largely dependent on ancient models is Kaspar Bruschi (1518-1558), like Buschius an eternal migrator.³ A native of Schlaggenwald, he cast its praise in Latin hexameters.⁴ His descriptive and encomiastic activity was quite prolific, but his merits rest upon quantity⁵ rather than

¹Eliae Corvini Joachimici, Poematum libri duo quorum primus heroica, secundus elegiaca continet (the poem on Karlsbad is on p. 227); cf. Wolkan, pp. 133-36; 487, n. 148; Ellinger, II, 261 f.

²Karlsbad was noticed in 1609 in Martin Pansa, Kurtze Beschreibung des Carolsbades, so nahe beim Städlein Ellnbogen in Böhmen gelegen: Wie man sich darinnen zu verhalten habe, Wann vnd zu was krankheiten es gut sey, auch was man für Remedia darbey gebrauchen könne.

³On him cf. Ad. Horawitz, Allg. dt. Biogr., III (1876), 453 f.; id., Caspar Bruschi, Prague-Vienna, 1874. Wolkan, pp. 141-50, 446-48. Ellinger, II, 193-97.

⁴Encomium Hubae Slaccenwaldensis et Thermarum Carolinarum apud Bohemos, Wittenberg, 1542. Cf. Wolkan, p. 150; Horawitz, pp. 10, n. 2 and 54. R. Richter, "Des Caspar Bruschi 'Encomium Hubae Slaccenwaldensis,'" Unser Egerland, XIII (1909), 83-87.

Zacharias Theobald (b. 1584) re-edited and made additions to Bruschi's works on Karlsbad and Schlaggenwald (in Theobald's posthumous edition of 1683 he includes German translations). Cf. Horawitz, Caspar Bruschi, pp. 61 ff. Besides these Theobald treats of Elbogen and Joachimsthal. His method of working and inserting additional facts is quite bewildering and poorly done. For details see Wolkan, pp. 448 f. and 523, n. 282.

⁵E.g. on Eger and the Fichtelgebirge (1542); cf. Wolkan, p. 149; Horawitz, pp. 56 ff.; on rivers; praise of Saxon cities (cf. Horawitz, pp. 83 f.), on Augsburg (Horawitz, pp. 136 ff., esp. p. 139). Besides these he wrote numerous historico-encomiastic treatises on monasteries (cf. Wolkan, pp. 143 f., Horawitz, pp. 140 ff.). Only vaguely related to encomiastic literature are the chronicle-like works on Eger by Andreas Baier, ca. 1580-85 (cf. Wolkan, p. 451); by Johann Goldhammer (d. 1595), cf. Wolkan, pp. 451 and 523; id., "Goldhammer's Beschreibung von Eger aus dem Jahre 1584," Literarisches Jahrbuch (ed. by Alois John), VI (1896), 15-42, and a German chronicle-like work on Eger (ca. 1584) by Pankraz Engelhardt (cf. Wolkan, pp. 451, 523, n. 289). Georg Handsch (1529-end of the 16th cent.). wrote encomia

quality. Bruschius represents the type of inconsistent writer who was able to praise or to attack according to circumstances.

The Moravian city of Olmütz (Czech: Olomouc, a former capital of that region and during the Hussite wars a stronghold of Catholicism) is lauded by the Thuringian humanist Georg Sibutus¹ (b. ca. 1480) in an Illustratio in Olomuncz of 1528. Conrad Celtis, as is known from three of his letters, had intended to include Olmütz in his projected Germania Illustrata.² Celtis had organized a humanistic group in Bohemia and Moravia. Under Stanislaus of Thurzo, bishop of Olmütz from 1497 to 1502, this city had become a center of literary and philological studies.³

On a higher poetical level is the encomium on Teplitz,⁴ by Thomas Mitis, the Idyllion de thermis Teplicensibus, 1561.⁵ Joyously he relates the discovery of the mineral springs which made the place of his eulogy so attractive to him. He is no less pleased with the situation of Teplitz, the character of the inhabitants, especially the young ladies, and the reputation of the city school.⁶

The inferences which may be drawn from a perusal of the Bohemian literature dealing with cities are that, in general, German and Latin were employed with equal freedom, that a sharper separation in national and religious attitudes appeared, and that a genre resembling folksong developed.

on Leipa (1541), cf. Wolkan, pp. 124 ff., esp. p. 125, where a passage is printed, and on Goldberg (1544), cf. Wolkan, pp. 125 f.

¹On Sibutus cf. E. Böcking, Hutteni Opera, Supplementum II, 2 (Leipzig, 1870), 469-71. Ellinger, II, 63 f.; Nadler³, II, 246.

²P. Joachimsen, Geschichtsauffassung, pp. 160 and 370, n. 19.

³For Celtis and Bohemia, cf. Nagl-Zeidler, I, 470.

⁴Czech: Teplice, North-west Bohemia, mentioned in twelfth century documents, the spas not before the sixteenth century.

⁵Re-edited by Eichler in Mitis' Secunda Farrago Elegiarum et Idylliorum ... ad Joh. Hoddeiovinum, Prague, 1836, and by Hochreiter in: Jahresbericht d. Communal-Realgymnasiums, Teplitz, 1885; cf. Wolkan, pp. 166 and 491, nn. 200 and 201.

⁶Of Siebenbürgen (now belonging to Rumania) I can only cite one encomium: Johannes Lebel, De oppido Thalmus carmen historicum, 1542, re-ed. by Joh. Seivert, Hermannstadt, 1779. Cf. Nagl-Zeidler, I, 475.

Bohemia is among the border territories where, naturally, the love for the home is more strongly expressed than in the interior. Other characteristic examples are Alsace, in some respects Switzerland, and Silesia.

A reader acquainted with the early struggle over Strassburg¹ is not astonished to find its praise both in an independent form and inserted in literary works.² The classical example is Wimpfeling's Germania, especially his passages on the administration and organization of the city. The chapter "Excellentia urbis Argentinae" (Borries' ed., pp. 146 f.), with its very concise characterizations, contains in the form of catchwords most of the topics laid down for ancient encomiastic literature.

Of little aesthetic value are the city song by Jörg Graff³ (ca. 1517) and Jörg Kienast's Loblied auf Strassburg bei Gelegenheit der Hungersnoth im Jahre 1517 verfasst.⁴ The report on Strassburg by Luigi d'Aragona, on the other hand, is independent and more objective.⁵ Toward the end of the sixteenth century Strassburg is again touched on by Johann Fischart (1588).⁵ Pos-

¹Cf. Wimpfeling's defence of the German character of the city (Germania, 1501) and Murner's reply (Germania nova, 1502). See Emil von Borries, Wimpfeling und Murner im Kampf um die ältere Geschichte des Elsasses, Heidelberg, 1926; both the Germania and the Germania nova are printed there, pp. 77 ff. and 190 ff, respectively. Cf. also Jos. Knepper, Nationaler Gedanke und Kaiseridee bei den elsässischen Humanisten ("Erläuterungen u. Ergänzungen zu Janssens Gesch. d. dt. Volkes," ed. by Ludw. Pastor, I, pt. 2-3, Freiburg i. Br., 1898), pp. 44-60.

²For details see the almost complete discussion by Richard Gosche, "Die Lieder und Reime von Strassburg," Arch. f. Lit.-gesch., II (1872), 94-158.

³Ein hübsch lied von der löblichen statt Strapburg, wie sy vff ist kommen. In Hertzog Ernst melody (195 verses, 15 stanzas).

⁴Ed. by Rudolf Reuss, "Loblied auf Strassburg," Alsatia, N.F., 1868-1872, pp. 151-65, and in Gosche, op. cit., pp. 138-46; cf. Goedecke, I², 319, No. 82; Wolfgang Stammeler, Die dt. Lit. d. Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon (Berlin, 1931 ff.), II, cols. 799 ff. Cf. also Ulrich Wirri, Lobspruch der freien Reichsstadt Strassburg (1576); Jak. Baechtold, Gesch. d. dt. Lit. in d. Schweiz (Frauenfeld, 1892), p. 417 and Anmerkungen, p. 132.

⁵Cf. Paul Brauner, "Kardinal Luigi d'Aragona in Strassburg 1517," Elsassland, IX (1929), 4.

⁶His Loblied auf Strassburg treats the various names for the city. See Fischart, Werke, I (ed. by A. Hauffen, "Dt. Nat. Lit.," 18), 219-25; and Joh. Fischarts Schweizer Dichtungen (ed.

sibly superior in spirit is the short Latin poem which Desiderius Erasmus wrote about 1516 on Schlettstadt, which along with Deventer in Holland was one of the more famous humanistic schools.¹ Schlettstadt, in Lower Alsace, mentioned in 728 as a royal palace and endowed with city rights since 1217, is not treated by Erasmus from topo-geographical viewpoints. His primary aim is to glorify the city and to immortalize it as a distinguished seat of intellectual activity.

Switzerland appears very late in encomiastic city literature and exhibits all the deficiencies of a period of decay. The overwhelming majority of the Swiss city poems are written in German. As far as Latin is concerned one must again give first consideration to that Nestor of city and landscape descriptions, Aeneas Silvius. Basel particularly attracted his attention.²

Next in importance is Henricus Loriti Glareanus (1488-1563) with his Helvetiae descriptio et in laudatissimum Helvetiorum foedus Panegyricus (Basel, 1515).³

Verse in praise of Swiss cities is confined to a period of twenty years (ca. 1570-1590), and represents perhaps the most

by A. Hauffen, in "Die Schweiz im dt. Geistesleben," Vol. 43, Frauenfeld, 1926), pp. 123-30.

¹Encomium Selestadii elegiaco per Erasmus Roterodamum (38 vss.), with German translation, ed. by W. Crecelius, "Lobgedicht des Erasmus von Rotterdam auf Schlettstadt," Alemannia, III (1875), 137-39.

²Cf. Rud. Wolkan, Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Vienna, 1909), I, 1, 28 ff.; German translation by M. Mell, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Briefe ("Das Zeitalter der Renaissance," ed. by M. Herzfeld, I, 3 [Jena, 1911]), pp. 8 ff. Cf. also Todten-tanz, wie derselbe in der löbl. u. welt-berühmten stadt Basel, als ein spiegel menschlicher beschaffenheit künstlich gemahlet und zu sehen ist. Nach dem Original in Kupfer gebracht nebst einer Beschreibung von der Stadt Basel, Basel, 1744 (Aeneas Sylvi nachgehends pabsts Pii II, beschreibung der stadt Basel, pp. 22-31). E. Preiswerk, "Eine zweite Beschreibung Basels durch Aeneas Silvius," Basler Zeitschr. f. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde, IV (1905), 1 ff.; cf. Nadler, I, 315.

One might mention in passing Peter A. de Clapsis, whom Wimpfeling in the preface to his Defensio Germaniae cites as a panegyrist of Basel.

³A Latin encomium (186 vss.) on Constance and the cities around the Lake of Constance is Johannes Georgius Tibianus, Panegyricon svper laudibvs Acronii Lacvs in Alamannia, et ejvsdem civitatem, in: Melchior H. Goldast, Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores (Frankfurt, 1661), pp. 98-101.

inferior material ever composed in this genre. Nevertheless, its low quality is no obstacle to frequent re-editions. This is the case with Ulrich Wirri, who praises the "thirteen cities" in his Ein schöner Spruch auf die 13 Orte loblicher Eidgenossenschaft.¹ Not much later, in 1573, appears another German eulogy on the thirteen towns by the great Swiss chronicler Johannes Stumpf (1500-ca. 1576).² His Lobsprüche are printed under wood cuts of the various cities, each Spruch containing fourteen uninspired verses. The two eulogies by Joh. Fischart (1588), Lobspruch auf Zürich and Lobspruch auf Bern, stand on a somewhat higher level.³ Encomiastic city poems, after a brief flourish, became increasingly unpopular. About a century later, in 1682, appeared an isolated Lobspruch on Aarau by Johann Jakob Haug.⁴ None of them is of genuine poetical importance or aesthetic value. Switzerland of all places shows more clearly that the writing of city encomia had declined to the level of sterile professionalism.

Turning from Switzerland to the German East, one finds it immediately evident that the latter occupied a decidedly important position during the period of humanism. Breslau belongs to those few German cities which are eulogized again and again. This center of humanism in the East possessed at that time a position more powerful than it had ever known before.⁵ At the beginning of the fifteenth century close interrelation of long standing be-

¹Jak. Baechtold, op. cit., pp. 416 ff. and the appendix ("Anmerkungen"), pp. 130 ff., had undertaken the laborious task of collecting as much material as possible (also on Schützenfest-songs). As to Wirri he says (Anmerk., p. 131): "Von dem elenden Spruch auf die 13 Orte existieren weitere Ausgaben von 1580, 1610, 1623, 1628, 1635, 1657, 1664, 1668, 1680."

²Ed. by J. Baechtold, "J. Stumpf's Lobsprüche auf die dreizehn Orte, nebst einem Beitrag zu seiner Biographie," in: Neujahrsblatt der Stadtbibliothek Zürich, 1890.

³A. Hauffen's edition of Fischarts Werke, DNL, Vol. 18, on Zürich: pp. 211-14; on Bern: pp. 215-18; id., Joh. Fischart Schweizer Dichtungen (op. cit.), on Zürich: pp. 113-17; on Bern, pp. 118-22.

⁴Discussed by J. Keller, "Ein Lobspruch auf die Stadt Aarau," Kleine Mitteilungen ... der mittelschweizerischen geogr.-kommerziellen Ges. in Aarau, I (4. Heft, June, 1893), pp. 49-53.

⁵For Silesian (and also Bohemian) humanism and Reformation see Hans Heckel, Gesch. d. dt. Lit. in Schlesien (Breslau, 1929), pp. 49-152.

tween Silesia and Bohemia came to an end through the Hussite troubles and the growing nationalism of the Czechs (cf. the departure of the German professors and students from the University of Prague). Breslau now became intellectually independent of Bohemia and developed into a center for trade with East and South-East Germany. Associations with Italian cities are a natural consequence of this, associations entered upon for the sake of a more profitable activity in economic as well as scholarly spheres. Furthermore, the humanistic zeal for exploring the past of city and country did much to encourage the writing of the history of Breslau and Silesia.

At the beginning stands Peter Eschenloher with his Historia Wratislaviensis (begun in 1463), also translated by him into German. Originally the spirit of humanism prevailed in very limited circles (the prince's chancellery and among the progressive personalities of the cathedral chapter, at Breslau). The humanistic schools proper originated in Breslau toward the end of the fifteenth century. The Breslau cathedral school became one of the conspicuous centers. In 1497, Laurentius Corvinus, the most important of the older humanists, was appointed rector of this school. He is Breslau's first panegyrist by virtue of his encomium Slesiae descriptio compendiosa (in 43 hexameters of which the second part deals exclusively with Breslau).¹ It is inserted on fol. 22^r (bottom) of his compendium Cosmographia ... (Basel, 1496). Influences from classical antiquity and a pronounced predilection for incongruous comparisons deprive the poem of that freshness which attends originality.² An epigram of five distichs on Breslau, also written by Corvinus, followed in 1508. It had been a part of the introduction to the Latin translation of the letters of Theophylactus Simocatta as Carmen Laurentii coruini ... quo valedicit prutaneos describitque ... quam dulcis sit a natali solo in patriam reditus (Cracow, 1508).³ These laudatory

¹The encomia on Breslau are fully discussed by Gustav Türk, "Lateinische Gedichte zum Lobe Breslaus," Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Gesch. u. Altert. Schles., XXXVI (1901), 101-20 (also as Breslauer Studien. Festschrift d. Ver. ... (für) Herm. Markgraf, Breslau, 1901; same pagination). For Corvinus (Lorenz Rabe, ca. 1469-1527) cf. Heckel, pp. 89, 91-94; Ellinger, I, 405-11, 436 f.

²For content see Türk, pp. 101 f.; the encomium on Breslau is followed by one on his native city Neumarkt, Silesia.

³Türk, 103 f.

poems as well as the ode on Cracow (1496)¹ reveal that Corvinus, in contrast to most other Silesian humanists, did not emphasize the national aspect. For him antiquity is the standard by which to judge. The superiority of German to Polish character is stressed by Bernhardinus Feyge (Caricinus) in an ode on Breslau (epistola descriptiva) in his epistolary guide of 1500.² National enthusiasm appears at its highest in the Panegyricus Silesiacus (1506) by Pancratius Vulturius (Geier of Hirschberg).³ The author, a disciple of Celtis, wrote this encomium on the capital of his province during a stay at the University of Padua. He felt that the city which was more important even than the ancient centers of classical culture, had not yet been adequately memorialized.⁴ The 611 verses of the panegyric deal in part also with other cities (vss. 260 ff.: Jamque etiam reliquas dicemus parcius urbes).⁵

The same motive which impelled Vulturius to glorify his home, namely the world's ignorance of the existence of Breslau, induced Bartholomaeus Sthenus (Bartel Stein of Brieg)⁶ to compose in the winter of 1512-13 his Descriptio totius Silesie atque civitatis Regie Vratislaviensis dealing with the relations between Silesia and her capital. His attitude toward the Poles and, above all, toward the Bohemians, is very hostile. The merit of his work lies in its close adherence to contemporary history; the classical element plays but a secondary role. His description is, as Heckel says (p. 95), the best and most reliable of all works

¹Ode Sapphica endecasyllaba dicolos tetrastrophos peonice de Polonia et Cracovia (25 stanzas), fol. 21 in the Cosmographia.

²Heckel, p. 94.

³Reprinted by Heinr. Meuss, "Des Vulturius Lobgedicht auf Schlesien von 1506," Mitt. d. schles. Ges. f. Volkskunde, XXVIII (1927), 38-81. On Vulturius cf. Heckel, p. 94.

⁴Cf. vss. 20 ff. (in Meuss' edition, p. 49); Vulturius knows, however, about the encomium of Corvinus whom he praises in vss. 166 f.

⁵He extends his commendations to Schweidnitz (262-76), Striegau (277-94), Neisse (295-313), Liegnitz (314-39), Hirschberg, his native city (340-459), Lemberg (460-69), Jauer (470-89), Reichenbach (490-501), Brieg (502-506), followed by a very few verses each for a series of other Silesian cities.

⁶Heckel, p. 95. Türk, pp. 105-7.

of this kind among the Silesian humanists.¹

Like Heidelberg (Gaguinus) and Leipzig (Crocus), so also Breslau can claim a foreign panegyrist in Romulus Amaseus. In an oration delivered in 1513 in honor of the new rector Georg Sauer-
mann, this Italian humanist (1489-1552), a professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Bologna, lauds the rector's Silesian homeland and its capital.²

There follow now several other encomia, as for instance by Georgius Logus (George von Logau, ca. 1500-1599), Ad Vratislaviam Silesiae metropolim (in 11 distichs, ca. 1527); a long poem of political character (written after 1555, but first published in 1592) by Franciscus Faber (Franz Köck[er]itz, 1497-1565), entitled Sabothus sive Silesia (in hexameters); Valens Acidalius (real name Velten Hauenkenthal, 1567-1595) with two short poems Ad Vratislaviam and Ad solem de urbe Vratislavia (both published in 1589); Elias Freudenberg, Ein Lobspruch der weitberühmten Hauptstadt Breslau in Schlesien, Brieg, 1611, a clumsy imitation of Sachs' poem on Nürnberg. The best known of the Silesian city panegyrists is perhaps Tobias Cober, the physician of Löwenburg. His long poem of about 3000 hexameters, Wratislavia sive Budorgis, celebris Elysiorum metropolis (1593), is partly historical and narrative. Cober employed frequent quotations from ancient writers. Incidentally, Nürnberg received more praise than the city which was properly the subject of his poem.³

In 1626, Wenzeslaus Clemens introduced into the poetry dealing with Breslau a special type. It is a kind of encomiastic anagram, a play with the name "Vratislavia." Words are formed out of this name and then used in the poem. The six anagrams which he employed (e.g. "vitalis aura" or "vita a lauris") were not invented by him, but had already been coined by the historiographer Nic. Henel in his Breslographia (1613).⁴

¹Two others who lauded Breslau are David Sigismund (Cas-sovius), cf. Türk, p. 108, and Johannes Caselius (1533-1613), cf. Türk, p. 110.

²Panegyricus sermo Ge. Sauromanno dictus, Bologna, 1513; cf. Heckel, 94.

³Heckel, pp. 148 f.; Türk, pp. 112 f.

⁴Türk, pp. 113-15. Clemens' work is entitled: Anagrammata et epigrammata encomiastica aliquot in Vratislaviam urbem venustissimam amplissimam ... (follow twelve lines) ... boni omnis et

Riga has repeatedly been the subject of praise, chiefly since the middle of the sixteenth century. Arnold Spekke's investigations¹ of history and descriptive literature of Riga and Latvia are excellent.² He has shown that the humanistic tradition was not confined to Western and Central Europe.

Silesian humanism has many features in common with the Bohemian movement. As a border-land and because of intrusive foreign, notably Hussite, influences, the struggle of competing cultures is far more severe than on the Western frontier. Although Silesian encomia went through progressive stages of decadence, the subject matter nevertheless retained its pristine character, because strict adherence to local patriotism prevented the injection of themes from other cities.

The last two generations of the sixteenth and the entire seventeenth century, as I have said before, form a period when poems on cities more and more subserve the ends of local propaganda. Here and there, of course, some rise above the average, but poets and poetasters had developed a routine. In addition to this, the superabundance of contemporaneous examples considerably facilitated versification. The attempt to make a selection is rather difficult, since the material appears to be uniformly standardized. The decline is marked also by the minor importance of many of the cities to which praise is accorded. These cities may have had some local significance, but none of them could claim Nürnberg's supereminence, extending beyond the province and even the country. Nürnberg's greatness gradually decreased; it

nominis ergo scripta a M. Venceslao Clemente Boh. Hospite ibidem, 1626. The same kind of versification was repeated in 1705 by Christian Rohrmann; cf. Türk, pp. 119 f. The seventeenth century shows, on the whole, a conspicuous decadence in the realm of city encomia, best exemplified, as far as Breslau is concerned, in Christoph Schwarzbach's 1300 distichs (Wratislavia urbs augusta ..., 1630). He constantly works with chronograms (play with dates, here 1630), paragrams (play with words and numbers) and similar things; for details see Türk, pp. 115 f. Other encomia on Breslau were written by Georg Schöbel (1667), Johannes Fechner (ca. 1667), Daniel Plorantius (1677, a combination of city encomium and farewell poem), Fibiger (chap. 7: "Urbes, oppida, arces, monasteria et pagi Silesiae" of his Silesiographia renovata, 1704, 32 well composed hexameters).

¹Alt-Riga im Lichte eines humanistischen Lobgedichts vom Jahre 1595 (Bas. Plinius, Encomium Rigae), Riga, 1927.

²For other encomia on Riga, cf. Spekke, pp. 9 ff.

continued to flourish on the fame with which the fifteenth and the beginning sixteenth centuries had invested it. Heidelberg, Leipzig, Vienna, and Cologne likewise declined. It is somewhat strange that most of the eulogists of Cologne were no natives of that city. Buschius came from Westphalia, Glareanus¹ was a Swiss by birth, and Johann Haselberg was a native of Reichenau (Lake of Constance).² One native, however, praised what he called the crown of the German cities. An anonymous man of the people, he eulogized Cologne in the last passage (vss. 532-604) of Die hystorie ind legende van den hylgen dry konynge . . ., 1509, in the dialect of Cologne.³

Among the cities which appear in the later period are, for example, Annaberg (Saxony), Speyer, Frankfurt am Main, and Lübeck. As far as the others are concerned no clear picture of their position can be gained from encomia. Only this much can be said, that there is a steady spread of encomia to the prosperous areas. Annaberg, like Freiberg, owed its increasing reputation to its mining industry,⁴ whereas Speyer rose to greater importance through the Reformation and the Supreme Court of the Empire.⁵

¹His famous Ad Maximilianum Rom. Imper. Semper aug. Panegyricon (printed in Marquard Freher, Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores, ed. by Burckhard Gotthelf Struve, II [Strassburg, 1717], pp. 482 f.) is no city encomium proper, although this type of eulogy included in antiquity a praise of the city. The circumstances of this address delivered at Cologne are related in a letter of Glareanus to his teacher (cf. Freher-Struve, p. 481). Glareanus, however, praised the Flora by Buschius.

²Eyn lobspruch der keyserlichen freygsth Coellen . . . (1531), ed. by J. J. Merlo and P. R. Nörrenberg, "Johann Haselberg und sein Lobgedicht auf die Stadt Köln," Annalen d. hist. Ver. f. d. Niederrhein, XLIV (1885), 139-75.

³Printed in Peter Norrenberg, Kölnisches Literaturleben im ersten Viertel des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts (Viersen, 1873), pp. 39-53; cf. ibid., pp. 14-16. A very long passage of the Magi legend is also inserted in Haselberg's poem (vss. 409-900).

⁴Praised by Joh. Sallianus (1507?), Eobanus Hessus, Camerarius, Mathaeus Behem (1526), and Mich. Barth, Annaebergae libri tres . . ., 1556 (very long and detailed).

⁵The poems on Speyer are discussed by J. Praun, "Encomium Spiraee, Lobsprüche auf Speyer aus dem 16. Jhd.," Mitt. d. hist. Ver. der Pfalz, XXIII (1899), 85-100.

The Carmen de laude Hanoverae, 1544, by Joh. Busmann (Buschmann),¹ and, above all, the encomium on Stralsund (1562) by Zacharias Orthus (ca. 1535-1579) approached a higher standard. His poem² contains 1176 distichs. The first two thirds of the encomium are primarily of historical character. In the proem (vss. 1-146) the protectress of Stralsund, the Sundina Strela, is described as having inspired the poet to sing of her and her deeds; then follows a dialogue. The essential part of the commendation is the description of Stralsund, its vicinity, and the spiritual qualities of its inhabitants (vss. 147-258). The middle portion of the poem is a glorification of Stralsund's history (victory over incendiary enemies, pirates, and the invading Danes. The poet records how Stralsund has survived all these perilous struggles and may now devote its energies to peaceful and constructive activities (vss. 887 ff.). He commends the growing wealth and beautification of the city, its relations with the sea, its buildings, and above all else, the Christian spirit of the inhabitants (esp. vss. 1019-1064) as reflected in their honest and righteous life. The last hundred verses eulogize the four praiseworthy mayors of the city, the great school (the Gymnasium), the preachers and physicians, and Stralsund's lesser inhabitants. The poet concludes with sincere good wishes for the future welfare of the city.

The great merits of this Latin poem consist in the vivid presentation of contemporaneous vitality. The author's sincere language reveals his love for his native city. There is no need for him to support his assertions by numerous parallels drawn from the past. Orthus, though a restless poet-wanderer, did not adopt the custom of those feckless humanists who eulogized cities and city councils out of pecuniary considerations.

Investigations in the field of humanistic and Neo-Latin literature are still in their infancy. Even introductory mono-

¹Anton Corvinus wrote in the same year his Laus Hanoverae.

²Inclytæ urbis Stralsundæ origo et res gestæ, ed. by H. Zober, Stralsund, 1831. For Orthus, cf. Ellinger, II, 283-86. I am obliged to the director of the Gymnasium at Stralsund for sending me extracts from Zober's edition.

graphs are as yet relatively few in number. A long time will pass before we shall be able to establish and evaluate the inter-relations in such active centuries as the fifteenth, sixteenth, and the seventeenth. Arnold Spekke's opinion on this special topic deserves quotation:

Das systematische Sichten des Städtegedichtgenres, welches sich über ganz Europa breitet und im tiefen ästhetischen Zusammenhang mit Werken wie z.B. Seb. Münsters oder besonders Braun und Hohenbergs grossen Atlanten steht, geht noch, soweit ich sehe, sehr schüchtern vonstatten. Arbeiten wie z.B. Neffs und Val. v. Logas Einleitungen zu Eob. Hessus' Noriberga illustrata, obwohl mit viel Sorgfalt und grosser Erudition verfasst, sind nur mühevolle Versuche, sich in dem bunten Material orientieren zu wollen, gelangen darum zu keinen inneren Entwicklungsschemen, welche um so schwieriger aufzuwerfen sind, da das Genre im 16. Jahrhundert nach einigen theoretischen Schätzungen und den bezüglichen Texten (zur Zeit so schwer¹ auffindlichen) beurteilt, gewissen Änderungen anheimfällt.

The first task, I think, would have to be a treatment of encomia according to cities (such as Türk for Breslau or Praun for Speyer), since in most cases the sources will be found in or near the cities concerned. With the aid of more ample sources one might undertake the next step, namely to single out the development of the various types as a genre and then to find the ultimate laws governing such development: Spekke's "innere Entwicklungsschemen." An investigation of this sort would reveal the chief lines of communication and the complicated but neatly woven interrelations.

Very early in classical antiquity people became aware of the importance of their cities. A well-founded and well-developed love for their residence, be it city-state, province, or nation, induces them not only to be mindful of its increasing glory and reputation, but also to listen to the panegyrics which proclaim local fame and thereby also the praiseworthy activities of the citizens. Verse and prose, in both brief and extended form, are at the disposal of panegyrists. In Grecian antiquity prose predominates (chiefly in laudatory city orations), verse becomes more conspicuous in Roman and late Roman periods, and, finally, from the Middle Ages on, the two forms run parallel. The city epigram never developed into a leading type. It was reserved for humanism to cultivate the true city poem. On the whole, it can

¹Spekke, op. cit., p. 35.

be said that all forms exist side by side and one or another takes precedence in different epochs. Three types are readily evident throughout the history of city literature: the descriptive (topo-geographical), the narrative (interpretative), and a combination of both.

In early humanism a strong patriotic feeling guides the composition of encomia, although even here the expectation of reward is customarily an important element. The poetic treatment of nature plays a secondary role, contrary to the practice of Italian Renaissance poets. The humanists welcomed every kind of occasional literature, a species which had already been brought to a high level in antiquity. Here they could develop their technique and the formal perfection of diction. What the classical humanists could claim as important, is frequently neglected during the seventeenth century. Instead of a superabundance of digressions into the field of ancient literature and mythology, the seventeenth-century poets often attempt to adhere to reality and to present their assertions in a more plastic manner. In spite of this, almost all encomia failed to throw off the classical traditional patterns, hence the uniformity of all of these eulogies. The Städtespruch--Hans Sachs prepared the way for it, but no more--might have become an independent genre of poetic merit in the hands of a talented poet. Yet its uneven meter, clumsy versification, and awkward presentation render the Städtespruch inferior to even the more mediocre Latin poems, where a degree of formal balance makes one disregard to some extent the grosser deficiencies in thought and content.

With the end of humanism and Neo-Latin literature the cultivation of its favorite genres and topics naturally also comes to a close. That which follows (up to our times) in the writing of city poems confirms in most cases its occasional character, a feature now frequent in versified introductions to guide-books or other collected works related to a city.¹

When looking back on this field of literary activity, one can say this. The models for this kind of occasional poetry existed already in antiquity. The humanists used them for their special aims. This poetry addressed itself chiefly to learned

¹I do not include here W. Longfellow's Nuremberg or Carl Sandburg's (b. 1878) Chicago Poems.

circles. The Latin encomia, which outnumber the German by far, are not destined for ordinary citizens. To a considerable degree the predilection for praising cities and regions is an outgrowth of the passion for travelling, the migratio academica. This passion, furthermore, originated in the endeavor of the humanists to present themselves as propagandists for the revival of ancient thought and culture (notice, e.g., the combination of praise of cities and their institutions of higher learning).

Most of the city encomia deal with geographical descriptions and local history interspersed with mythological reminiscences. Humanists draw freely on ancient mythology, whether the features be appropriate to the city or not. We notice also an interest--though not very marked--in the etymology of place names. Many commendations place the historical material second in rank and stress economic matters of a city, customs, popular peculiarities and festivals (e.g., shooting contests), and the character of the inhabitants. In the nature of things this poetry does not primarily express sentiments (Gefühlspoesie), but remains quite abstract and intellectual (Verstandespoesie).

Rich treasures of original thought and arrangement were handed down to later generations. Through almost every century (from the pre-Christian times on) one can follow the rise and decline of this literary genre. Just as an intellectual international contact existed in antiquity (chiefly in the Graeco-Roman period), so there is an interchange of ideas during the Renaissance and the era of humanism. It would indeed be strange if the lengthy councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1449), where numerous learned men of the world and the church assembled, should not have brought about a fruitful exchange of ideas.¹

In conclusion, to judge from all considerations, the city encomium in all its varieties offers relatively little to one primarily interested in literary aesthetics. On the contrary, those who see in literature the mirror of a complex and variegated life will derive positive historical, cultural, and social values from the study of a literary genre with so long and so varied a history.

¹I think that opportunity remains for a minute investigation into the men who participated in the councils, their associates, and the degree and nature of mutual influence.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of
Cities Praised*

End 12.c.	Bamberg: Gotfr. of Viterbo (Lpr)	1495	Nürnberg:
14./15.c.	Cologne: Anon. (L)	1496	K. Celtis (Lpr)
ca. 1400	Braunschweig: Anon. (Gp)	1499	Breslau, Neumarkt: L. Corvinus (Lp)
15.c.	Heidelberg: O.v. Wolkenstein (Gp)	bef. 1500	Wiesbaden: D. Gresemund (Lp)
bef. 1418	Iglau: U. de Pochyech(?) (Lp)	1500	Basel: P. A. de Clapsis (L)
1424	Nürnberg: Anon. (Gp)	15./16.c.	Annaberg: H. Schneider (Gp)
1434	Basel: Ae. Silvius (Lpr)	ca. 1500	Breslau: B. Feyge (Lp)
1438	Vienna: Ae. Silvius (Lpr)	1501	Strassburg: J. Wimpfeling (Lpr)
1444	Passau: Ae. Silvius (Lpr)	1501	Frankfurt M.: J. Steinwert v. Soest (Gp)
1447	Nürnberg: H. Rosenplüt (Gp)	1501-02	Heidelberg: K. Celtis (Lp)
1452	Bamberg: A.v. Eyb (Lpr)	1503	Münster: J. Murmellius (Lp)
1470	Heidelberg: M. Beheim (Gp)	1504	Leipzig: H. Buschius (Lp)
1475	Freiburg (Switz- erl.): V. Weber (Gp)	1504	Heidelberg: Clapsis (Lpr)
1478	Augsburg: U. Schwarz (Gp)	1504	Roermond: H. Buschius (Lp)
ca. 1483	Haarlem (Holl.): D. Mathijszen (Dutch p)	ca. 1504	Roermond: Murmellius (Lp)
1485	Nürnberg: S. Meisterlin (Lpr)	ca. 1505-	Braunschweig: H. Boger (Lp)
1488	Leipzig: K. Wimpina (Lp)	1506	Breslau: P. Vulturinus (Lp)
1488	Ulm: F. Fabri (Lpr)	1506	Erfurt: H. E. Hessus (Lp)
1490	Nürnberg: K. Hasz (Gp)	1506	Wittenberg: G. Sibutus (Lp)
1491	Wiesbaden: K. Celtis (Lp)	ca. 1507	Annaberg: G. Saliemus (Lp)
1492	Nürnberg: K. Celtis (Lp)	1508	Wittenberg: A. Meinhard (L)
ca. 1492	Heidelberg: R. Gaguinus (Lp)	1508	Cologne: H. Bruschius (Lp)
1493	Nürnberg: K. Celtis (Lp)	1508	Breslau: L. Corvinus (Lp)

*The nature of the encomium will be given as far as possible. L = Latin; G = German; p = poem; pr = prose.

1509	Cologne: Anon.	(Gp)	1530	Nürnberg: H. Sachs	(Gp)
1512	Nürnberg:		ca. 1531	Speyer	
	J. Cochlaeus	(Lpr)		D. Reysmann	(Lp)
1512/13	Breslau: B. Stenus	(Lp)	1531	Cologne:	
1513	Breslau:			J. Haselberg	(Gp)
	R. Amasaesus	(Lpr)	1531	Blaubeuren:	
1515	Emmerich:			D. Reysmann	(Lp)
	H. Buschius	(Lp)	1532	Nürnberg: Hesus	(Lp)
1515	Brux: V. Neubauer	(Gp)	ca. 1535	Heidelberg:	
1515	Leipzig: R. Crocus	(Lpr)		J. Micyllus	(Lp)
1515	Freiburg i. Br.:		ca. 1535	Lübeck:	
	Ph. Engelbrecht	(Lp)		E. Sarcerius	(L)
ca. 1515	Ulm: J. Boemus	(L)	1536	Augsburg, Erfurt,	
ca. 1516	Schlettstadt:			Nürnberg, Wit-	
	D. Erasmus	(Lp)		tenberg:	
1517	Strassburg:			G. Sabinus	(Lp)
	Luigi d'Aragona	pr	aft. 1536	Joachimsthal:	
1517	Strassburg:			Hesus	(Lp)
	J. Kienast	(Gp)	1537-40	Leipzig: J. Gigas	(Lp)
1517	Cologne:		1537	Hamburg: J. Freder	(Lp)
	L. d'Aragona	pr	1538	Freiburg i. Br.:	
ca. 1517	Strassburg:			J. Pedius	
	J. Graff	(Gp)		Tethinger	(Lp)
1517-18	Nürnberg:		ca. 1538	Herdern: <u>ibid.</u>	(Lp)
	L. d'Aragona	pr	ca. 1538	Frankfurt O.:	
1518	Nürnberg:			G. Sabinus	(Lp)
	F. Irenicus	(Lpr)	ca. 1538	Freiberg: A. Siber	(Lp)
bef. 1520	Zwickau: W. Cyclop	(Lp)	1539	Dresden:	
2d dec.	Leipzig:			G. Strauss	(Gp)
16th c.	E. Cordus	(Lp)	1540	Speyer:	
1520	Joachimsthal:			J. Mynsinger	(Lp)
	H. Rudhardt	(Gp)	1540	Joachimsthal:	
1521	Joachimsthal:			S. Rössler	(Gp)
	Anon.	(Gp)	1541	Marienberg:	
	H. Lutz	(Gp)		J. Rivius	(L)
1521	Karlsbad:		1541	Leipa: G. Handsch	(Lp)
	B. Lobkowitz	(Lp)	1542	Eger (G),	
	W. Beyer	(Lpr)		Schlaggenwald,	
ca. 1522	Simtshausen:			Karlsbad:	
	E. Cordus	(Lp)		K. Bruschius	(Lp)
1522	Goslar: E. Cordus	(Lp)	aft. 1542	Augsburg:	
1522	Freiberg:			K. Bruschius	(Lp)
	R. Sbrulius	(Lp)	1543	Augsburg, Nürn-	
1524	Annaberg:			berg, Erfurt,	
	J. Camerarius	(Lp)		Leipzig, Chem-	
ca. 1525	Vienna: W. Cristó-			nitz:	
	bal de Castillejo			G. Fabricius	(Lp)
	(Span. p)		1544	Frankfurt M.,	
1525	Leipzig:			Sachsenhausen,	
	J. Micyllus	(Lp)		Mainz, Oppenheim,	
1526	Erfurt: Micyllus	(Lp)		Speyer, Strass-	
1526	Nürnberg:			burg: Fabricius	(Lp)
	Melanchthon	(Lpr)	1544	Hanover:	
ca. 1527	Nürnberg:			J. Buschmann	(Lp)
	H. E. Hesus	(Lp)		A. Corvinus	(Lp)
ca. 1527	Breslau: G. Logus	(Lp)	1544	Goldberg:	
1528	Olmütz: G. Sibutus	(Lp)		G. Handsch	(Lp)
bef. 1530	Joachimsthal:		1544-50	Basel: S. Lemnius	(Lp)
	V. Schneider	(Gp)			

1547	Lübeck:	1566	Magdeburg:
	J. Buschmann (Lp)		H. Moller (Lp)
1547	Nürnberg: G. Fa-	1567	Vienna: H. Sachs (Gp)
	leti (It. pr)	1568	Karlsbad:
ca. 1547	Bern: B. Gletting (Gp)		E. Corvinus (Lp)
1548	Elbing: Ch. Falk (Gp)		Frankfurt M.,
1548	Vienna:		Nördlingen:
	W. Schmeltzl (Gp)		H. Sachs (Gp)
1548	Mühlhausen (Als.)	1569	Regensburg,
ca. 1548	Jena: J. Stigelius (Lp)		Lüneburg, Lü-
1549	Speyer:		beck, Hamburg:
	K. Bruschiu (Lp)		H. Sachs (Gp)
1549	Salzburg: H. Sachs (Gp)	1573	Emden: Anon.
1550	Nürnberg:	1573	Saaz:
	H. Eccard (Lp)		G. Ostracius (Lp)
ca. 1550	Wittenberg:	1573	Swiss cities:
	J. Sacerides (Lp)		J. Stumpf (Gp)
1st half	Leipzig:	1573	Freiberg:
16.c.	E. Sarcarius (L)		G. Fabricius (L)
"	Speyer: G. Sabinus (Lp)	1574	Frankfurt M.:
middle			H. Stephanus (Lpr)
of 16.c.	Speyer:	ca. 1574	Höxter, Corvey:
	J. Stigelius (Lp)		H. Knaust (Lp)
	G. Cracovius (Lp)	bef. 1575	Augsburg; Leip-
	Nürnberg:		zig: A. Lym-
	J. Seckerwitz (Lp)		vicus (Lp)
1550-60	Breslau:		Bretten, Deven-
	D. Sigismund (Lp)		ter, Metz,
1553	Freiberg: J. Bocer (Lp)		Munich, Speyer,
	Minden: J. Bocer		Ulm, Tübingen:
1553	Emden: W. Gnapheus (Lp)		N. Chytraeus (Lp)
1555	Emden: Anon.	aft. 1575	Werden: G. Braun
ca. 1555	Toggenburg:		and F. Hogen-
	B. Gletting (Gp)		berg (L)
aft. 1555	Breslau: F. Faber (Lp)	1576	Strassburg:
1555-57	Cologne: Anon.		U. Wirri (Gp)
1556	Annaberg: M. Behem (Lp)	1576 (or	Biberach:
	M. Barth (Lp)	1600)	Anon. (Gp)
1556	Ritlinga:	1577	Munich: H. Lutz (G)
	J. Hoffer (Lp)	1577	Basel: P. Schuler (Gp)
1559	Amberg:	1578	Straubing:
	G. Agricola (L)		St. Reitter (
1560-65	Nidau: Anon. (Gp)	1578-86	Rostock:
1561; 63	Kraichgau:		V. Schorler
	D. Chytraeus (L)	1579	Krems: V. Kunis (Lp)
1561	Teplitz: Th. Mitis (Lp)	1580	Nürnberg: P.
1561	Pforzheim:		Schede Melissus (Lp)
	H. Gering (G)	ca. 1580	Glogau: Anon. (Gp)
1562	Stralsund:	1581	Basel: H. Frölich (G)
	Z. Orthus (Lp)	1582	Pomeranian cities:
1563	Lüneburg:		J. Seckerwitz (Lp)
	L. Lossius (Lp)	1582	Munnerstadt:
1564	Speyer:		D. Amling
	W. Eisengrein (L)	aft. 1583	Speyer:
1565	Elbing: C. Falk		J. Reusner (Lp)
	(2d ed. with	1584	Eger:
	additions) (Gp)		J. Goldhammer (Gpr)
1565	Mengen: Anon. p)	1585-98	Thorn:
1565	Munich: H. Sachs (Gp)		H. Schober (Lp)

1585	Leipzig: J. Major (Lp)	bef. 1614	Ladenburg (Lupfen)
1586	Zürich: H. Frölich (Gp)		M. Freher (Lpr)
1588	Bern, Strassburg,	1614	Aussig:
	Zürich:		A. Tichtenbaum
	J. Fischart (Gp)	1624	Breslau: M. Opitz
ca. 1589	Breslau:	1626	Breslau: W. Clemens (Lp)
	V. Acidalius (Lp)	1629	Aschersleben:
1589	Augsburg:		Anon. (Gp)
	S. Frenzel (Lp)	1630	Breslau: Ch.
1590	Rostock: Anon.		Schwartzbach (Lp)
1591	Dresden:	1630	Danzig: W. Clemens (Lp)
	D. Winzenberger (Gp)	1631	Breslau: M. Opitz
1593	Ulm: O. Miller	bef. 1631	Teschen:
1593	Brüx:		G. Fabricius (L)
	L.B. Pontanus (Lp)	1644	Bamberg: G.
1593	Breslau: T. Cober (Lp)		Goldmayer (Gpr)
1595	Bamberg:	1646	Danzig: G.
	M. Hofmann (Lp)		Grefflinger (Gp)
1595	Nürnberg:	1649	Bamberg: Anon. (Lp)
	M. Sebalus (L)	1651	Deventer:
1595	Riga: B. Plinius (Lp)		J. Revius (L)
1595	Calw: M. Crusius (Lpr)	1664	Amsterdam:
1596	Haarlem: K. van		Ph. v. Zesen
	Mander (Du p)	1667	Breslau:
2d half	Cologne:		G. Schöbel (Lp)
16. c.	Anon. (Gp)	ca. 1667	Breslau:
"	Mühlhausen (Thur.):		J. Fechner (Lp)
	L. Helmbold (Lp)		H. Mühlpfort (Lp)
	N. Reusner (Lp)	1675	Frankfurt M.:
"	Speyer:		Anon. (G)
	P. Lindeberg (Lp)	1677	Breslau:
	J. Armbruster (Lp)		D. Florantius (Lp)
"	Nürnberg:	1679	Breslau:
	A. Lymvicius (Lp)		D. Tscherning (Gp)
end 16. c.	Breslau:	1682	Leipzig:
	J. Caselius (Lp)		A. Pfeiffer (L)
1600	Bamberg: J. Bonius (Gpr)	1682	Aarau: J. J. Haug (Gp)
ca. 1600	Biberach: Anon. (Gp)	1683	Karlsbad:
beg. 17. c.	Leipzig:		Z. Theobald (Lp)
	J. Friderici (Lp)	1683	Schlaggenwald,
"	Speyer:		Joachimsthal,
	H. Kirchner (Lp)		Elbogen (Lp and G)
1602-04	Leipzig: Gabriel	1689	Leipzig:
	Rollenhagen (Lp)		D. Pfeiffer (Lp)
1604	Munich, Landshut:		
	J. Mayr (Gp)	1704	Breslau:
1605	Klagenfurt:		M. J. Fibiger (Lp)
	U. Paumgartner	1705	Breslau:
1605	Saaz: W. Ripa (Lp)		Ch. Rohrmann (Lp)
1608	Königsberg:	ca. 1746	Karlsbad:
	Chr. Mirau (Gp)		P. Kunzius (Lp)
1609	Karlsbad: M. Pansa (G)	1758	Speyer:
ca. 1610	Breslau:		G. Litzel (Gpr)
	E. Freudenberg (Gp)		

INDEX
of
Cities Praised

	Page
Aarau (Switzerl.): J. J. Haug, 1682	57
Altenburg: H. Sachs (?)	
Amberg: G. Agricola, 1559.	
Annaberg (Sa.): H. Schneider, beg. 16. cent.; J. Selianus, ca. 1507; H. E. Hessus; J. Camerarius, 1524; M. Behem, 1556; M. Barth, 1556.	
Aschersleben: Anon., 1629.	
Augsburg: U. Schwarz, 1478; G. Sabinus, 1536; K. Bruschi- us, after 1542; G. Fabricius, 1543; A. Lymvicius, bef. 1575; S. Frenzel, 1589.	
Aussig (CSR): A. Tichtenbaum, 1614 n. 3, 48	
Bamberg: Gotfr. of Viterbo, end of 12. cent.; A. v. Eyb, 1452; H. Rosenplüt (?); M. Hofmann, 1595; J. Ayer, 1599; J. Bonius, 1600; A. Goldmayer, 1644; Anon., 1649	49 f.
Basel: Aen. Silvius, 1434; P. A. de Clapsis, bef. 1500; S. Lemnius, 1544-1550; P. Schuler, 1577; H. Frölich, 1581	56
Bern: B. Gletting, ca. 1547; G. Ritter; J. Fischart, 1588	57
Biberach (Swabia): J. E. v. Pflaumern; Anon., 1576 or ca. 1600.	
Blaubeuren (Württ.): D. Reysmann, 1531.	
Braunschweig: Anon., ca. 1400; H. Boger, beg. 16. cent.	
Breslau: L. Corvinus, 1496 and 1508; B. Feyge Caricinus, ca. 1500; P. Vulturinus, 1506; B. Stenus, 1512-13; R. Amasaeus, 1513; G. Logus, ca. 1527; F. Faber (Köckeritz), after 1555; D. Sigismund Cassovius, be- tween 1550-60; Anon., 1562; J. Casselius, end of 16. cent.; V. Acidalius, ca. 1589; T. Cober, 1593; E. Freudenberg, ca. 1610; M. Opitz, 1624 and 1631; W. Clemens, 1626; Chr. Schwartzbach, 1630; G. Schöbel, 1667; J. Fechner, ca. 1667; H. Mühlport, ca. 1667; D. Plorantius, 1677; D. Tscherning, 1679; M. J. Fibi- ger, 1704; Chr. Rohrmann, 1705	57-60
Bretten (Baden): N. Chytraeus, bef. 1575.	
Brüx (CSR): V. Neubauer, 1515; G. B. Pontanus, 1593 . . .	48 f.
Calw (Württ.): M. Crusius, 1595.	
Chemnitz: G. Fabricius, 1543.	
Cologne: Anon., turn of 14.-15. cent.; H. Buschius, 1508; Anon., 1509; U. v. Hutten; L. d'Aragona, 1517; J. Haselberg, 1531; Anon., 2d half of 16. cent. . . .	26-29, 62
Corvey (Westphalia), see Höxter.	
Danzig: W. Clemens, 1630; J. G. Grefflinger, 1646.	
Deventer (Holland): N. Chytraeus, bef. 1575; J. Revi- us, 1651.	
Dresden: G. Strauss, 1539; D. Winzenberger, 1591.	
Eger (CSR): K. Bruschi- us, 1542; J. Goldhammer, 1584 . . .	53

Elbing: Chr. Falk, 1548.	
Emden: Anon., 1555; W. Gnapheus, 1553. Anon., 1573.	
Emmerich (Rhineland): H. Buschius, 1515.	
Erfurt: H. E. Hessus, 1506; J. Micyllus, 1526; G. Sabinus, 1536; G. Fabricius, 1543.	
Frankfurt am Main: J. Steinwert v. Soest, 1501; G. Fabricius, 1544; H. Sachs, 1568; H. Stephanus, 1574; Anon., 1675	43
Frankfurt (Oder): G. Sabinus, ca. 1538 (?)	
Freiberg (Sa.): R. Sbrulius, 1522; A. Siber, ca. 1538 (?); J. Bocer, 1553; G. Fabricius, 1573	62
Freiburg i. Br.: Ph. Engelbrecht Engentinus, 1515; J. Pedius Tethinger, 1538	32-34
Freiburg (Switzerl.): V. Weber, 1475.	
Glarus: J. Stumpf, 1573.	
Glogau: Anon., ca. 1580.	
Goldberg (Lower Silesia): G. Handsch, 1544.	
Goslar: E. Cordus, 1522	36 f.
Hamburg: J. Freder, 1537; H. Sachs, 1569	43
Hanover: J. Buschmann, 1544; A. Corvinus, 1544	63
Heidelberg: O. V. Wolkenstein, 15. cent.; M. Beheim, 1470; R. Gaguinus, ca. 1492; K. Celtis, 1501-02; P. A. de Clapsis, 1504; J. Micyllus, ca. 1535	11 f., 23
Herdern (nr. Freiburg i. Br.): J. P. Tethinger, ca. 1538	33 f.
Höxter and Corvey (Westph.): H. Knaust, ca. 1574 (?)	
Iglau (CSR): Urbanus de Pochyech (?), bef. 1418	47 f.
Jena: J. Stigelius, ca. 1548.	
Joachimsthal (CSR): H. Rudhardt, 1520; Anon., 1521; H. Lutz, 1521; V. Schneider, bef. 1530; Anon.; H. E. Hessus, after 1536; S. Rössler, 1540; Z. Theobald, 1683	49-51
Karlsbad (CSR): B. Lobkowitz, 1521; W. Beyer, 1521; K. Bruschi, 1542; E. Corvinus, 1568; M. Pansa, 1609; Z. Theobald, 1683; P. Kunzius, ca. 1746	52 f.
Klagenfurt (Carinthia): U. Paumgartner, 1605.	
Königsberg: Chr. Mirau, 1608.	
Königshofen (Franconia): P. Schede Melissus.	
Konstanz: J. G. Tibianus	56, n. 3
Kraichgau (am Neckar): D. Chytraeus, 1561, 1563; N. Chytraeus.	
Krems (Austria): V. Kunis, 1579.	
Landau (Palatinate): N. Reusner.	
Leipa (CSR): G. Handsch, 1541.	
Leipzig: K. Wimpina, 1488; Priamus Capotius, 1488; H. Buschius, 1504; R. Crocus, 1515; E. Cordus, 2d decade 16. cent.; J. Micyllus, 1525; G. Fabricius, 1543; J. Gigas, 1537-40 (?); E. Sarcerius, 1st half of 16. cent.; A. Lymvicius, bef. 1575; J. Major, 1585; J. Friderici, turn of 16.-17. cent.; G. Rollenhagen, 1602-04; A. Pfeiffer, 1682; D. Pfeiffer, 1689	12-14 25 f. 31, 37
Lübeck: E. Sarcerius, ca. 1535; J. Buschmann, 1547; H. Sachs, 1569	43
Lüneburg: L. Lossius, 1563; H. Sachs, 1569	43
Ladenburg or Lupfen (Baden): M. Freher, bef. 1614.	
Luzern: Anon.	
Magdeburg: H. Moller, 1566.	
Mainz: G. Fabricius, 1544.	

Marienberg (Sa.): J. Rivius, 1541.	
Meissen: G. Fabricius; Ph. Melanchthon.	
Mengen (Württ.): Anon., 1565.	
Metz: N. Chytraeus, bef. 1575.	
Minden: J. Bocer, 1553.	
Mühlhausen (Alsace): J. Stumpf, 1548.	
Mühlhausen (Thuringia): L. Helmbold, 2d half 16. cent.; N. Reusner, 2d half 16. cent.	
Münster (Westph.): J. Murmellius, 1503	29 f.
Munich: H. Sachs, 1565; N. Chytraeus, <u>ca.</u> 1575; V. Lutz, 1577	42
Munich-Landshut: J. Mayr, 1604	
Munnerstadt (Lower Franconia): D. Amling, <u>ca.</u> 1582.	
Neumarkt (Silesia): L. Corvinus, 1496	n. 2, 58
Nidau (Switzerl.): Anon., 1560-65.	
Nördlingen (Swabia): H. Sachs, 1568.	
Nürnberg: Anon., 1424; H. Rosenplüt, 1447; S. Meister- lin, <u>ca.</u> 1485; K. Hasz, 1490; G. Alt, 1492; K. Celtis, 1492, '93, '95; J. Cochlaeus, 1512; L. d'Aragona, 1517-18; F. Irenicus, 1518; Ph. Melanchthon, 1526; H. Sachs, 1530; H. E. Hessus, 1526, '32; G. Sabinus, 1536; G. Fabricius, 1543; G. Faleti, 1547; H. Eccard, 1550; J. Seckerwitz, middle of 16. cent.; P. Schede Melissus, 1580; A. Lymvicus, 2d half of 16. cent.; M. Sebalduis, 1595	6-9 15-18 20-22 30 37-41 43-45
Olmütz (CSR): G. Sibutus, 1528	54
Oppenheim (nr. Frankfurt M.): G. Fabricius, 1544.	
Passau: Aen. Silvius, 1444.	
Pforzheim (Baden): J. Reuchlin; H. Gering, 1561.	
Plauen i. V.: P. Gebhard.	
Pomeranian cities: J. Seckerwitz, 1582.	
Regensburg: H. Sachs, 1569	43
Ritlinga (Franconia): J. Hoffer, 1556.	
Riga (Latvia): B. Plinius, 1595	61
Roermond (Holland): J. Murmellius, <u>ca.</u> 1504; H. Buschius, 1504	25, 29
Rostock: H. Sachs (?); V. Schorler, 1578-86; Anon., <u>ca.</u> 1590	43
Saaz (CSR): G. Ostracius, 1573; W. Ripa, 1605	49
Sachsenhausen (nr. Frankfurt M.): G. Fabricius, 1544.	
Salzburg: H. Sachs, 1549	41 f.
Saxon cities: M. Barth.	
Schlaggenwald (CSR): K. Bruschiu, 1542	53
Schlettstadt (Lower Alsace): D. Erasmus, <u>ca.</u> 1516	56
Schwabach (Central Franconia): E. Funk.	
Simtshausen (Upper Hesse): E. Cordus, <u>ca.</u> 1522 (?).	
Solothurn (Switzerl.): G. Ritter.	
Speyer: J. Wimpfeling; G. Sabinus, 1st half of 16. cent.; D. Reysmann, <u>ca.</u> 1531; J. Mynsinger, 1540; G. Fabricius, 1544; K. Bruschiu, 1549; S. Brant; G. Cracovius, middle of 16. cent.; J. Stigelius, middle of 16. cent.; J. Armbruster, 2d half of 16. cent.; P. Lindeberg, 2d half 16. cent.; D. Sigismund Cassovius; W. Eisen- grein, 1564; N. Chytraeus, <u>ca.</u> 1575; N. Reusner, after 1583; H. Kirchner, beg. 17. cent. (?); Chr. Colerus, middle of 17. cent.; G. Litzel, 1758	62
Stralsund: Z. Orthus, 1562	63

Strassburg: J. Wimpfeling, 1501; J. Graff, <u>ca.</u> 1517;	
L. d'Aragona, 1517; B. Lobkowitz; J. Kienast, 1517;	n. 2, 48
G. Fabricius, 1544; U. Wirri, 1576; J. Fischart,	n. 3, 52
1588; St. Landschütz, 1635	55
Straubing: St. Reitter, 1578.	
Switzerland--Federal Republic--13 Orte--Drei Bünde:	
Anon.; Anon., 1477; H. Loriti Glareanus, 1515;	
U. Wirri, 1560; P. Schuler, 1568; J. Stumpf, 1573;	
H. Gering, 1615	57
Teplitz (CSR): T. Mitis, 1561	54
Teschen (Silesia): G. Fabricius, bef. 1631.	
Thorn: H. Schober, between 1585-1598.	
Toggenburg (Switzerl.): B. Gletting, <u>ca.</u> 1555.	
Tübingen: N. Chytraeus, <u>ca.</u> 1575.	
Ulm: F. Fabri, 1488; J. Boëmus Aubanus, 1515; N. Chy-	18-20
traeus, <u>ca.</u> 1575; O. Miller, 1593	30 f.
Vienna: Aen. Silvius, 1438; Wolf Cristóbal de	
Castillejo, <u>ca.</u> 1525; W. Schmeltzl, 1548; H. Sachs,	
1567	42 f.
Werden an d. Ruhr: G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, 1575-1618.	
Wiesbaden: K. Celtis, 1491; D. Gresemund jr., 1499.	
Wittenberg: G. Sibutus, 1506; A. Meinhard, 1508;	
G. Sabinus, 1536; J. Sascerrides, <u>ca.</u> 1550 (?)	n. 2, 30
Zürich: H. Frölich, 1586; U. Wirri; J. Fischart, 1588;	
G. Ritter	57
Zwickau: W. Cyclopius, bef. 1520	34 f.

